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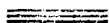
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The Westward Flow of Southern Colonists before 1861

BY WILLIAM O. LYNCH

The older provinces of the South were furnishing settlers to areas that were later to become new states even before the birth of the nation. Virginia easily held first place as a breeding ground for colonists for several decades after 1783. A volume with the title, "The Expansion of Virginia," covering the period ending in 1861, would be rich in content. In the year 1850, there were almost 400,000 men, women, and children of Virginia birth who lived outside of the state, not counting slaves.¹ A small portion of those who migrated from the Old Dominion before 1850 located in certain of the original states, but most of them found homes in new country.

The people who left Virginia to seek dwelling places, fortunes, or adventures scattered widely. In 1850, there were about 37,000 free natives of the commonwealth living in the newer states of the Lower South,² more than 140,000 in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri,³ and more than 150,000 in the Old Northwest.⁴ The census figures do not tell the complete story, for the reason that in the long period of the movement away from Virginia many natives of the state who were

¹ According to the census of 1850, the number was 388,059. See nativity tables, in *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, 1853), xxxvi-xxxviii.

² In Alabama, the number of free Virginians was 10,387; in Mississippi, 8,357; in Georgia, 7,331; in Texas, 3,580; in Louisiana, 3,216. Georgia was one of the thirteen states that formed the Union, but it was largely colonized after the War for Independence.

³ In Kentucky, the number was 54,694; in Tennessee, 46,631; in Missouri, 40,777.

⁴ In Ohio, the number was 85,762; in Indiana, 41,819; in Illinois, 24,697.

among the migrating pioneers had died before the taking of the census of 1850, and were therefore not counted in that year.⁵ It is clear that Virginia, with aid from no other state, could have colonized and added to the Union at least five new states between the Revolutionary War and 1850.

North Carolina was easily second as a colonizer among the old southern states. Her surplus population, like that of Virginia, became widely dispersed, over 50,000 free North Carolinians migrating to the Old Northwest,⁶ over 100,000 to Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri,⁷ and about 114,000 to the states of the Lower South.⁸

South Carolina colonized extensively, but was far behind Virginia and North Carolina and her migrating element showed little tendency to scatter. Very few South Carolinians found their way to the new country beyond the Ohio, or to Kentucky and Missouri. Even Tennessee attracted but a modest number of pioneers from South Carolina.⁹ The flow of colonists from the latter state was almost entirely westward into the newer areas of the Lower South, where there were in 1850 more than 90,000 of her sons and daughters. To this number must be added over 50,000 free natives of South Carolina who were living in Georgia and Florida in 1850, bringing the total in the Lower South to more than 145,000,¹⁰ certainly no mean figure.

Only a small part of Georgia was peopled prior to 1776, and the total population of the state in 1790 was but 82,548. In fact, most of

⁵ In no census before that of 1850 were statistics gathered in reference to the birthplaces of the members of the free families of the country.

⁶ The number of North Carolinians in Indiana in 1850 was 33,175; in Illinois, 13,851; in Ohio, 4,807.

⁷ In Tennessee, the number was 72,027; in Missouri, 17,009; in Kentucky, 14,279.

⁸ In Georgia, the number was 37,522; in Alabama, 28,521; in Mississippi, 21,487; in Arkansas, 8,772; in South Carolina, 6,173; in Texas, 5,155; in Florida, 3,537; in Louisiana, 2,923; South Carolina received more people from North Carolina than she sent to the latter state as an offset.

⁹ The number of free persons of South Carolina birth who lived in Illinois in 1850 was only 4,162; in Indiana, 4,169; in Ohio, 1,468. The numbers in Kentucky (3,164) and in Missouri (2,919) were small. In Tennessee, the number was 15,197.

¹⁰ The number of persons born in South Carolina who were living in Georgia in 1850 was 52,154; in Alabama, 48,663; in Mississippi, 27,908; in Arkansas, 4,587; in Louisiana, 4,583; in Florida, 4,470; in Texas, 4,482. Arkansas has been listed with the states of the Lower South, because it was so largely dominated by the cotton planters.

Georgia was colonized simultaneously with Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. While a large number of people from the outside located in Georgia between 1790 and 1850, it was nevertheless true that a considerable number of persons born in the state were leaving for newer areas long before the latter date. The movement was almost entirely confined to the Lower South. Almost half of the free natives of Georgia who lived elsewhere in 1850 were to be found in Alabama—nearly 60,000. Mississippi was next with over 17,000, and Florida was third with more than 11,000. The largest contingent from Georgia in any non-slaveholding state was 1,341 in Illinois, but there were fewer in Missouri and still fewer in Kentucky. The only states not touching the Gulf to receive more free persons from Georgia than did Illinois were Arkansas and Tennessee.¹¹

Maryland sent forth about as many of her free people as did Georgia before 1850, but a comparatively large proportion of them merely transferred to near-by states. The newer states receiving colonists from Maryland in considerable numbers were Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Missouri, the aggregate being about 65,000. The total contribution of Maryland to surrounding states was not much smaller. The number of free natives who migrated to the Lower South was insignificant,¹² though the number of slaves furnished to that area was considerable.

The salient factors that entered in to determine the direction of movement by colonists going away from the seaboard South were climatic conditions, routes of travel, beckoning economic opportunities, and the drawing power of relatives or friends who had gone on ahead. As a rule, home seekers migrating to frontier country preferred to go where the seasons were similar to those with which they were familiar. To locate where winters were colder and longer, or where summers

¹¹ The number of Georgians in Texas in 1850 was 7,639; in Arkansas, 6,367; in Louisiana, 5,917; in Tennessee, 4,863. The Georgia contingent in Missouri was very close to that in Illinois, being 1,254. In Kentucky, there were but 892 Georgians in 1850; in California, the number was 876; in Indiana, 764.

¹² The number of persons born in Maryland who were living in Ohio in 1850 was 36,698; in Indiana, 10,177; in Illinois, 6,898; in Kentucky, 6,470; in Missouri, 4,853. In Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia, Virginia, and Delaware together, there were about 45,000 free persons of Maryland birth in 1850.

were hotter and longer, meant not only getting used to new and irritating conditions but also that the pioneers must learn to produce new crops or old crops under new rules and by new methods. The latter was a handicap which could be overcome only through several years of experimentation and intelligent observation. Worn out lands and the pressure of increasing population relative to the opportunities afforded in an old state stimulated individuals and families to try their fortunes where lands were cheap and where there was more elbow-room.¹³

Westward moving pioneers leaving the Piedmont Plateau of Virginia and North Carolina, the Valley of Virginia, or the Alleghany Plateau of western Virginia to settle in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, or Missouri did not encounter greatly different summers or winters. The Potomac-Ohio line did not offer an easy route, but a possible one over which colonists passed year by year. The passes of the Blue Ridge south of the Potomac, both wind gaps and water gaps, were used by Virginians and North Carolinians leaving Tidewater or Piedmont for the West. Once in the Appalachian Valley,¹⁴ they made their way over or through the Alleghanies and passed along the valleys of streams that flowed down the slope of the Alleghany Plateau to the Ohio. Difficult trails that followed tortuous water courses, often crossing the ridges that divided the narrow valleys and frequently following the curving backbone of a ridge for some distance, made progress slow and hazardous, but did not stay the westward movement.¹⁵

¹³ Not only do the nativity tables of the federal census reports bear out the statements in this paragraph, but scores of reminiscences, family histories, and letters written by pioneers to relatives or friends back in the home communities attest their general accuracy.

¹⁴ The term Appalachian Valley is the most convenient and applicable that can be used to designate the longitudinal depression that extends southwestward between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Front in the Pennsylvania-Virginia area and continues southwestward between the Great Smokies and the Cumberlands. This long trough lies mainly in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and East Tennessee. A part of the trough lies, of course, in Maryland and in what is now West Virginia. It may be argued that it extends northward into New York and southward into Georgia and Alabama, but it is less marked in these areas where the bordering ranges are lower, with the intervening mountains scattered about more promiscuously.

¹⁵ The author has visited the wind gaps and water gaps and studied the natural routes through the country between the Virginia Piedmont and the valleys of the rivers that flow

Other Virginians and North Carolinians leaving the Piedmont Plateau, or crossing it from the Tidewater, passed through the Blue Ridge by the gaps of the James or the Roanoke into the Appalachian Trough. Carolinians could choose other routes, as many did. They could cross the Blue Ridge by the high passes in North Carolina and follow the narrow valleys and gorges cut by streams, such as the Watauga, the forks of the Toe-Nolichucky, and the French Broad, since these streams cross the high plateau and cut through the mountains on its near-by western edge to reach the Appalachian Valley and contribute their waters to the Tennessee system.¹⁶

Pioneers who entered the Valley by the James or the Roanoke were apt to move toward the southwest, cross the New River and reach the South Fork of the Holston. Following this river for a distance they could strike across to the North Fork, pass farther southwestward along its valley, and make their way to the Clinch. Traveling down the valley of this river, they could at last cross to Powell's River and thence to Cumberland Gap, which was, from the time of Richard Henderson and Daniel Boone, the southeastern gateway to Kentucky and lands beyond. Having traversed this famous pass, the moving families or caravans could then cross the near-by ridges of the carved-up Cumberland Plateau, and, following the Cumberland and other meandering streams

toward the Ohio in West Virginia and Kentucky. He bases his statements mainly on personal observation. For good discussions of these routes, see James M. Callahan, *Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia* (Charleston, 1913), Chaps. I ("Geographic Conditions") and IV ("Historic Highways").

¹⁶ The Potomac, the James, and the Roanoke, as well as the Susquehanna system to the northward, drain parts of the Appalachian Valley towards arms of the Atlantic. The New River flows northwest across the Valley and cuts through the Alleghany Front to continue towards the Ohio. The South and North Forks of the Holston, the Clinch, and Powell's flow southwest within the Valley. In western North Carolina a series of rivers, the Watauga, the Toe-Nolichucky, the French Broad, the Big Pigeon, the Little Tennessee, the Hiwassee, flow from the Blue Ridge, across the high, narrow plateau, and reach the Appalachian Valley by cutting through the Great Smoky Range. They all contribute their waters, directly or indirectly to the Tennessee River. Locally, the term *Great Smokies* is applied only to a section of mountains located nearly south of Knoxville. Geographers and others interested in the Southern Appalachians must have a general name for the mountains that separate North Carolina from Tennessee, and they generally use the term *Great Smokies* or *Great Smoky Mountains*. In this study, the name is used in this larger sense.

between the divides for varying distances, reach the Blue Grass Country and stop, or go through that splendid region to the Ohio or beyond.¹⁷ Having come to the Ohio by any of the possible lines of travel, adventurers and homeseekers could pass into Ohio, or going down the river enter southern Indiana, southern Illinois, or eastern Missouri. Once on the Ohio, it was about as easy to aid in the occupation of Missouri as to locate in Indiana or Illinois.¹⁸

For some time after the first settlements were formed in the Appalachian Valley of southwestern Virginia and eastern Tennessee, Virginians and Carolinians who preferred to remain in the Valley had no need to go beyond this beautiful and fruitful country, where the natural movement to form the State of Franklin developed early. Those who left the Valley or passed through it could avoid Cumberland Gap and go through or over the mountains farther to the south in Tennessee, and, of course, many passed out of East Tennessee by way of the Tennessee River, especially after the removal of the Cherokees. Natives of South Carolina and Georgia who attempted to go northwestward encountered the most formidable mountains of the Appalachians. Beyond these barriers were lands difficult to reach, with long winters and short summers, where they could not cultivate crops with which they were familiar and where they would find few old neighbors or kinsfolk. Small wonder that most of them who went forth to acquire lands in new country skirted the mountains and settled in the Deep South.¹⁹

¹⁷ The author of this study has visited personally many of the routes through the Southern Appalachians. Matter pertaining to early routes from Virginia and North Carolina to Tennessee and Kentucky may be found in the following: William A. Pusey, *The Wilderness Road to Kentucky* (New York, 1921); Thomas Speed, *The Wilderness Road* (Louisville, 1886); Constance L. Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest* (New Haven, 1919); Archibald Henderson, *The Conquest of the Old Southwest* (New York, 1920); Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders* (New York, 1921); Mary Verhoeff, *The Kentucky Mountains: Transportation and Commerce, 1750 to 1911* (Louisville, 1911).

¹⁸ As a result of the river connections and the hostility of Indians in Indiana to the end of 1813, Missourians were asking for admission to the Union almost as soon as Indiana and Illinois. In fact, the population of Missouri Territory in 1820 was 66,586, while that of Illinois was 55,211. Indiana, which boasted a population of 63,897 by the territorial census of 1815, showed a population of 147,178 by the federal census of 1820.

¹⁹ For a long period the Cumberlands formed a real barrier between East Tennessee and Middle Tennessee, as indeed they do yet to some extent. The passes are few and difficult, and, until the building of railroads, a journey between Knoxville or Chattanooga

Before the Revolutionary War, Tidewater, Piedmont, and Shenandoah Valley were colonized, and the settlement of East Tennessee and what is now West Virginia and Kentucky had either begun or was about to begin. Following 1783, for a short period, the flow of colonists from older states was almost entirely to the Cumberland and Alleghany plateaus. These areas which sloped away from the Cumberland and Alleghany fronts toward the northwest furnished the next available country for settlement. It was no accident that Kentucky and Tennessee, lying in the same geographic belt, were colonized at the same time as western New York, western Pennsylvania, western Virginia (now West Virginia), and southern and eastern Ohio. It naturally followed that Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio became states in rapid succession.²⁰ The first two were colonized very largely by Virginia and North Carolina, and Virginia made a heavy contribution to Ohio.²¹

Only free people have been considered in the westward movement so far reviewed, but slaves also figured in the peopling of new country. Some were carried into the Piedmont of Virginia and the Carolinas

and Nashville was a very real undertaking. Paved highways of today cross the Cumberlands between Cumberland Gap and the Alabama line at Indian Creek (above LaFollette), Emery River (at Harriman), and west of Chattanooga. In regard to routes from the seaboard states of the South to the newer areas of the Lower South, see Thomas P. Abernethy, *The Formative Period in Alabama, 1815-1828* (Montgomery, 1922), Chap. III; Randle B. Truett, *Trade and Travel Around the Southern Appalachians before 1830* (Chapel Hill, 1935), Chaps. II-III.

²⁰ The Alleghany Plateau, sloping northwestward from the Alleghany Front, includes much of western New York and Pennsylvania north and northwest of this escarpment, much of eastern and southern Ohio, and the greater part of the present West Virginia area. The Cumberland Plateau, sloping northwestward from the Cumberland Escarpment, includes eastern Kentucky and a considerable part of Middle Tennessee. This belt, made up of the two plateaus that are divided only by the Big Sandy Valley, constitutes the next area beyond the Appalachian Valley that was open to westward moving settlers. The consequence was that the colonization of the whole belt went on simultaneously, the population increase being very great from 1790 to 1820, as census figures prove conclusively. The maps of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia (including West Virginia), Kentucky, and Tennessee that may be found in Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth in the United States, 1790-1900* (Washington, 1909), 63, 65, 67, 70, are revealing. Each map indicates the counties as they were in 1790 and in 1900.

²¹ The census of 1850 substantiates this statement, but earlier nativity statistics, if available, would prove it more completely, since, by 1850, many colonists who had migrated to these states (Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio) had already died and many others had gone on to still newer areas.

and into the Shenandoah Valley as these areas were occupied in the later colonial period.²² After the rise of cotton culture in the upper Tidewater and Piedmont of South Carolina and Georgia, there was a rapid increase in the number of slaves in this region. In North Carolina and Virginia, slavery increased in the Piedmont mainly because of the expansion of tobacco, but the cultivation of cotton also exerted an influence.²³ The invention of spinning and weaving machinery in England operated by steam or water power created a great demand for raw materials in the later eighteenth century. The presence of a large area with soil and climatic conditions adapted to the production of upland cotton, together with a surplus of slaves in the tobacco states and the timely invention of the cotton gin, enabled South Carolina and Georgia, with some help from North Carolina and Virginia, to supply a vast proportion of the cotton needed.²⁴ For more than thirty years after the ginning of cotton began the price of cotton was high.²⁵ The familiar story of the transformation of the economic and social regime of the first great cotton area of the United States need not be told. Many farms were enlarged into plantations as numerous small farmers sold their holdings at better prices than they expected to obtain and sought homesteads in frontier states or territories.²⁶

²² This was due mainly to the invasion of these newer areas by tobacco.

²³ During the first thirty years of the growing of upland cotton, when prices were high, Virginia produced considerable cotton. In fact, for a good many years North Carolina produced less than Virginia.

²⁴ The factors that created the great demand for raw cotton by 1800 and those that enabled a large amount to be produced in the United States are treated in Frederick J. Turner, *The Rise of the New West* (New York, 1906), 45-46. See also Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918), 150-63.

²⁵ The lowest average price received by cotton producers in the United States between 1794 and 1827 was received in 1812. In the first year of the War of 1812 the average price of "middling uplands" cotton at New York City was 10½ cents. The highest average price for any year was 44 cents in 1799. The average of the yearly averages for the years from 1794 to 1811, inclusive, was 22 cents. The average of the yearly averages for 1812, 1813, and 1814 was 12 2/3 cents. The average of the yearly averages for the twelve years beginning with 1815 and ending with 1826 was 19 cents. The highest average for any year of the twelve was that for 1816. These figures are taken from, or based on, the prices of "middling uplands" cotton at New York City, published in Matthew B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry* (New York, 1897), opposite page 358.

²⁶ In the upper Tidewater and Piedmont of South Carolina and Georgia, the economic and social changes brought about by the increase in cotton production between 1795 and

The number of slaves used by cotton growers was greater year by year, both because of increased cotton productions in South Carolina and Georgia and because of the expansion of the cotton area. The demand for slaves had to be supplied largely by the tobacco country of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, especially after 1808. Slaves were not drawn to new country as were free men with little property in both North and South, but it was just as natural that surplus slaves should be carried by owners to developing plantation areas or purchased by slave traders and transferred to the plantations of new districts as it was for free men of little or no property to migrate to the frontier. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, many counties or parishes of the upper Tidewater and Piedmont were transformed into communities with larger average landholdings, more slaves, and fewer free persons.²⁷ Though Virginia, Maryland, and much of North Carolina furnished relatively small numbers of free persons to South Carolina and Georgia, they contributed large numbers of slaves. The same contrast was just as marked in relation to the numbers of free persons and slaves who passed from the old tobacco area to Alabama, Mississippi, and other new states of the Lower South. For example, Alabama and Mississippi were peopled by Virginia slaves to a far greater degree than by free Virginians.

1925 were profound. Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, Chap. IV; Ulrich B. Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt* (New York, 1908); William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1900, I (Washington, 1901), 385-400; Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Origin and Growth of Southern Black Belts," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), XI (1906), 798-816; Robert P. Brooks, *History of Georgia* (Boston, 1913), 208-20; E. Merton Coulter, *A Short History of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1933), Chaps. XV-XVI, XIX.

²⁷ The transformation of this area caused a shifting of the views of the people and their leaders relative to economic and political questions. As Turner said so well in 1906, "The influence of economic change within this section transformed the South Carolinians from warm supporters of a liberal national policy into the straitest of the sect of state-sovereignty advocates, intent upon raising the barriers against the flood of nationalism that threatened to overwhelm the South." *Rise of the New West*, 66. In his interpretation of Calhoun, who grew up in the South Carolina Piedmont, Turner says that Calhoun shared "its changes from a community essentially western to a cotton and slave-holding region," and adds—"This is the clew to his career." *Ibid.*, 183.

Following the colonization of East Tennessee and the Cumberland and Alleghany plateaus, the westward movement naturally and necessarily affected the country north and northwest of Kentucky and south and southwest of Tennessee. The flow of colonists into these sections was marked during the early years of the new century, but it was much augmented by the victories of the War of 1812, so important to the Old Northwest and the Old Southwest. Population increased during the last year of the war and still more in the ensuing boom period. In the ten-year period beginning with 1812, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, of the southern area, and Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri of the area beyond Kentucky and Ohio, were all admitted to the Union. Each of the new states was still a frontier colony when statehood was conferred. In 1820, the aggregate population of the five new states and Missouri (not yet a state) was 625,731, about the same as that of North Carolina alone.²⁸

It was easy to bring Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama into the Union as slaveholding states, and short preliminary struggles were sufficient to determine that Indiana and Illinois must be admitted as non-slaveholding. The contest over Missouri was real and dangerous. Location, climate, and soil had much to do with the fact that slavery was well established in Missouri before 1810, but the factors controlling the westward flow of colonists were of vital importance. Indiana and Illinois were in the first stages of occupation, the same as Missouri, and could furnish no settlers to the latter. Westward moving pioneers from the New England states, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio had no need to migrate to far away Missouri prior to 1820. Until that time, there were extensive tracts of unoccupied, desirable land in western New York, western Pennsylvania, and Ohio, to say nothing of Indiana and Illinois. The population of Missouri at the time of the controversy

²⁸ The populations of the five states and Missouri Territory in 1820, were: Louisiana, 153,407; Mississippi, 75,488; Alabama, 127,901; Indiana, 147,178; Illinois, 55,211; Missouri, 66,586. On the basis of the congressional apportionment following the census of 1820, these six new states were represented in Congress by twelve senators and twelve representatives, and chose twenty-four presidential electors. North Carolina, with a population of 638,829, was represented by two senators and thirteen representatives and chose fifteen presidential electors during the decade.

over admission was, aside from the small Spanish and French elements, almost entirely from Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Even as late as 1850, the aggregate contingent from these four slaveholding states of the Upper South still stood far higher than either the northern or the foreign element.²⁹

There was much debate in the halls of Congress over the question of restricting slavery in Missouri. In the end there was a compromise. Slavery was prohibited in that part of the old Province of Louisiana that was still unoccupied, but Missouri, where the majority of the population favored slavery, came into the Union as a slaveholding state. In spite of the agitation that stirred the whole country and the refined constitutional arguments of keen debaters in the national legislature, the people of frontier Missouri had their way. Conditions that caused the territory beyond the Mississippi to receive its population from the states of the Upper South determined that slavery should not be prohibited or restricted in that territory. Popular sovereignty registered a victory for slavery in Missouri in 1820, as it was to register a victory against slavery in Kansas thirty-eight years later.³⁰

From 1820 to 1860, the westward movement continued. The states admitted with meager populations in the years from 1811 to 1821 filled up, while Michigan, Arkansas, Iowa, Texas, and Wisconsin competed

²⁹ The figures from the census of 1850 are: born in Virginia and living in Missouri, 40,777; born in North Carolina, 17,009; in Tennessee, 44,970; in Kentucky, 69,694. The contingents from these four states of the Upper South, living in Missouri, totaled 172,450. The highest number from any non-slaveholding state was 12,752 from Indiana. The highest number from any state of the Lower South was 2,919 from South Carolina. These figures include only free persons. Most of the slaves held in Missouri in 1850 who were born outside the state were natives of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

³⁰ For a more complete discussion of the Missouri question as affected by population movements, see William O. Lynch, "The Influence of Population Movements on Missouri before 1861," in *Missouri Historical Review* (Columbia, 1906-), XVI (1922), 506-16. In connection with his discussion of the provisions of the Missouri Compromise, the author wrote: "Where 'squatters' had already exercised their sovereignty in the matter, slavery was not prohibited. To the remaining vacant portion of the Louisiana Territory lying north of 36° 30', Congress applied the principle of the Wilmot Proviso. Thus long before the Mexican War, or the crisis of 1850, or the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, at a time when Lincoln and Douglas were boys, these unnamed and rival principles were accepted and applied." *Ibid.*, 507.

with them for colonists.³¹ As Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio rapidly matured, they sent out vast numbers to aid older states and foreign countries in the work of colonizing areas not much newer than their own. The tides were much stronger in some periods than in others, the notable waves of migration coming in the years 1813-1819, 1833-1837, and 1853-1857, coinciding, in each instance, not with depressions but with boom times when prosperity was highest and speculation most rife.

From 1790 to 1820, Kentucky and Tennessee increased in population by a total of 877,772. In the next three decades, the combined increase in the two states was just about 1,000,000. Alabama and Mississippi together showed a population of 203,349 in 1820, but in the succeeding thirty years the figure rose to 1,378,249, an increase well above 1,000,000. During the 1850's, these two states added 377,357 to their combined population, 218,989 of this increase being slaves. In Missouri, there was an increase of 615,458 between 1820 and 1850, and by 1860 the state could boast the addition of half a million more. The older the state, provided it remained agricultural, the smaller the numbers that came in from the outside.

Kentucky and Tennessee each became colonizing states long before 1850, and sent out very large numbers between 1850 and 1860. From Kentucky people went to Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois before 1850. In the next ten years, the flow to Missouri kept up. To Illinois there was a decreasing stream, while the number of Kentuckians drawn to Indiana from 1850 to 1860 was not sufficient to cancel the losses by removal and death of those who were living there in 1850.³² To still newer areas, like Iowa, Arkansas, Texas, and California, natives of Kentucky migrated in increasing, though not large, numbers during the 1850's.

³¹ William O. Lynch, "Popular Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings* (Lincoln, 1907-1923), 1917-1918, pp. 380-92.

³² The number of Kentuckians living in Missouri in 1860 was 99,814, an increase of 30,120 over the figure for 1850; for Illinois the number was 60,193 for 1860, an increase of 10,605 over the figure for 1850; for Indiana, the number for 1860 was 68,588, this figure being slightly smaller than that for 1850, which was 68,651.

Tennessee contributed a great number of colonists to Missouri, Arkansas, Illinois, Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas before 1850. Between 1850 and 1860, the increase in the number of Tennesseans in Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas was very marked. Indeed, comparatively few natives of Tennessee went elsewhere than to these three states in that decade, the aggregate increase of Tennesseans in the three being approximately 86,000 during the ten years. On the other hand, the number of Tennesseans living in Alabama, and likewise in Mississippi, was fewer in 1860 than in 1850.³³

It was often discouraging to the people of old states to observe the departure of vast numbers of men, women, and children, year after year. In Virginia and the Carolinas, where practically no people entered the states to offset the losses, it meant relative decline in the national House and in the electoral college.³⁴ To new states, with rapidly growing populations, it meant development of resources, increase in wealth with its accompaniments, and enhanced political importance.

Perhaps it is more interesting for one to imagine himself in a new state, watching the colonists come in, than to think of himself in an old state, observing them as they depart. From some states, the outgoing elements followed diverging routes; from others, they nearly all went to one general area. Colonists flowing into new states or territories sometimes came from divergent sources; those moving into others, in certain instances, came from rather compact areas.

Alabama was largely peopled by Georgia and South Carolina, with considerable aid from North Carolina and Tennessee. Not many came

³³ The number of Tennesseans living in Arkansas in 1860 was 66,609; in Missouri 73,594; in Texas, 42,265. The increases from 1850 to 1860 were, respectively, 32,802, 28,624, and 24,573. The decrease in the number of Tennesseans living in Mississippi between 1850 and 1860 was 5,208; in Alabama, 3,412.

³⁴ It was not necessary for the population of a state to decrease in order to lose members in the House of Representatives or to be assigned fewer presidential electors, but the rapid growth of new states, or old ones, relative to states with practically stationary populations amounted to the same thing. Virginia dropped from twenty-three members of the House, between 1810-1820, to thirteen between 1850-1860; North Carolina from thirteen, between 1830-1840, to eight between 1850-1860; South Carolina from nine, between 1830-1840, to six between 1850-1860. Certain northern states, notably New Hampshire and Vermont, lost political strength in like manner.

from other states, and still fewer from foreign countries. Virginia contributed a surprisingly small contingent to Alabama. The number of free Virginians living in the state in 1860 was but 7,598, as compared to 83,517 Georgians. The strength of the Virginia influence in Alabama, or in any other state of the Deep South, before 1860 did not spring from numbers. It must be accounted for by the fact that a goodly number of the Virginians who migrated to Alabama were, or became, persons of substance who developed large plantations and owned many slaves.³⁵ The New York element in Alabama by 1860 was larger than that from any other non-slaveholding state, but even so, the figure reached only 1,848. There were exceedingly few northerners in Alabama before the clash of arms, and it must be true that the forces which determined that so few northerners and foreigners should participate in the colonization of the newer portions of the Lower South rendered the conflict waged from 1861 to 1865 more possible.³⁶

The story of Mississippi closely parallels that of Alabama. In the colonization of Mississippi, Alabama holds first place, which seems strange enough.³⁷ The South Carolina contingent was second, with Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee running a close race for third place. The number of Virginians living in Mississippi in 1860 was under 7,000. In the same year, New York was represented by 1,336 and Pennsylvania by 950, with all other non-slaveholding states far below these two. The foreign born of Mississippi numbered 8,558 in

³⁵ About four times as many free persons migrated from Virginia to Indiana as to Alabama before 1850. Nevertheless, though the Virginia influence was very strong in Indiana, it would be difficult to demonstrate that it was greater than in Alabama.

³⁶ The number of northerners in Georgia was, as in Alabama, very small. Again, New York was first with 1,203 in 1850 and 2,125 in 1860. Pennsylvania was second with 642 in 1850 and 981 in 1860. Massachusetts was third with 594 in 1850 and 773 in 1860. Since a good many of the small number who migrated to the Lower South from commercial states of the northern Atlantic area engaged in business, they no doubt exerted an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. See Richard H. Shryock, *Georgia and the Union* (Durham, 1926), Chap. II.

³⁷ Mississippi and Alabama were colonized simultaneously. The former was even admitted to the Union before the latter, but not on account of population. Large numbers of persons born in Alabama settled in Mississippi, but few went the other way, there being 34,047 Alabamians in Mississippi in 1840 to 2,852 Mississippians in Alabama. In 1860 the figures were 38,878 against 4,848.

1860, nearly four thousand fewer than the small total that could be counted in Alabama.

The history of Louisiana is unique. Having developed through a long French period, followed by a Spanish regime of forty years, there was an old civilization at New Orleans and a few other centers before the United States came into control. Largely because of New Orleans, Louisiana became a state in 1812, a few years before the admission of Mississippi and Alabama. Aside from the fact that numerous families of Louisiana were descended from French and Spanish ancestors, there lived in the state 81,029 persons of foreign birth in 1860. The largest contingent of free persons from any southern state other than Louisiana living in that state in that year was 15,041 from Mississippi. Only two other southern states, Alabama and Georgia, outranked New York. Natives from the last-named state numbered 5,538. The commercial interests of New Orleans explain the presence of so many New Yorkers, and partly account for the large foreign element in Louisiana in the ante-bellum period.³⁸

Arkansas was a child of Tennessee, furnishing a convenient outlet for a considerable portion of her surplus population. The number of free people from Tennessee living in the new state across the river was large in 1850, but it almost doubled by the next census year. Arkansas attracted both small farmers and ambitious planters, but, regardless of the great number of poor whites, the state was largely dominated by cotton planters and became closely allied with the Lower South. Nearly four thousand natives of Illinois were living in Arkansas in 1860, revealing the influence of the river connection. The Illinois contingent was greater than the total number of foreign born.³⁹

³⁸ Not one of the other southern states had twice the number of inhabitants living in Louisiana as were living there from New York before 1850. In 1860, no southern state, other than Louisiana, had three times the number from New York, though the latter state had barely held her own during the decade.

³⁹ This seems to indicate that people from non-slaveholding states were willing to settle in slaveholding states. What happened in Missouri is even a better example. Perhaps the old notion that northerners would not settle in the South because of the presence of slaves is not sound. From the later colonial period until 1860, northerners had been quite willing to settle in those portions of the South where both the climatic conditions and the economic opportunities were satisfactory.

The United States permitted Texas to go to Spain by the Treaty of 1819-1820. It was then an unpeopled area and received its first real colonists in the Mexican period, not from Mexico, but from the United States and Europe. During the period of the Republic of Texas, pioneers from the United States continued to flow into Texas where they were joined by modest contingents from the British Isles and the German states.⁴⁰ The census of 1850 brings out clearly the reason why annexation to the United States was a policy that could win favor among the majority of the people who had settled in Texas before 1845. There were more free persons from Tennessee in Texas than from any other American state in 1850, a higher number than from all the foreign countries combined. In the succeeding decade, Tennessee increased her contingent by about 25,000, Alabama by about 22,000, and Georgia by about 16,000. All the other southern states, save Delaware, Maryland, Florida, and Louisiana, more than doubled their contingents in Texas in the same ten year period. The foreign element, which numbered 16,774 in 1850, was increased by about 27,000 in the decade. Illinois, with 2,855 of her sons and daughters in Texas in 1850, increased the number to 7,050 during the succeeding ten years. The strength of the northern element in Texas was notable, considering the latitude and remoteness of the state, the total being about 22,000, while the total from the states of the Upper South was very near that from the states of the Lower South.⁴¹

Missouri entered the Union in 1821, but, with a vast acreage of public lands yet unoccupied in 1850, unparalleled river connections and a central position, the state was still to receive a very large influx. Until 1850, colonists came mainly from the Upper South, but, as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois matured, surprisingly large portions of the migrating elements of those states were drawn into Missouri. At the same time, the number of foreigners selecting the state as a place in

⁴⁰ The number born in German states was 8,191; in the British Isles, 2,683; in Mexico, 4,459; in other foreign countries, 1,441.

⁴¹ The number born in the states of the Lower South (including Arkansas and excluding Texas) and living in Texas in 1860 was 100,690; born in non-slaveholding states and territories, 22,022; born in the Upper South, 101,633.

which to live increased year by year. More and more the southern stream flowing into Missouri was matched by both the northern stream and the incoming tide of foreigners. It came about, then, that in the last decade prior to the "Brothers' War" there poured into Missouri larger contingents of northerners and foreigners than had come before, while the southern stream did not diminish, the influx from Kentucky and Tennessee running especially high. Unavoidably, the new Missouri then created was seriously divided on the slavery issue and every problem related thereto.⁴²

With a population of 682,014 in 1850, Missouri added a half million in ten years. St. Louis doubled in the decade, rising to a population of 160,773 in 1860. Of the more than 40,000,000 acres of land in the state, one fourth were included in the farms of 1850. Another 10,000,000 were added to this total by 1860. New towns sprang up over the state, while old ones expanded to meet the demands of a rapidly increasing population. It was in these years that Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Hannibal first became important commercial centers. A great part of Missouri's growth was due to the settlement of her vacant lands, but her development was augmented by the great river traffic of the time; by the new railroad connections; by her strategic position that brought advantages from the trade and travel that passed over the Oregon and Santa Fe trails; by the migration and traffic related to the settlement of Kansas, so much of which was dependent on the Missouri River; and by the business activities growing out of the movement to California.⁴³

The struggle for Kansas is related to the westward movement of the South. Even before the final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, antislavery leaders conceived a plan to make Kansas a free state under

⁴² Lynch, "The Influence of Population Movements on Missouri before 1861," in *loc. cit.*

⁴³ *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), XXI (1856), 87-89; *ibid.*, XXIV (1858), 213-16; Philip E. Chappell, "A History of the Missouri River," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections* (Topeka, 1875-1928), IX (1906), 237-94; Harrison A. Trexler, "Missouri-Montana Highways," in *Missouri Historical Review*, XII (1918), 67 ff., 145 ff.; Eugene M. Violette, *A History of Missouri* (Boston, 1918), Chaps. IX, XI; Lawrence (Kan.) *Herald of Freedom*, April 26, 1856.

the terms of the measure which they so bitterly opposed. It would only be necessary to place in the new territory enough colonists opposed to the extension of slavery to outnumber those favorable to slavery to save Kansas to freedom under the operation of the principle of popular sovereignty. Soon the New England Emigrant Aid Company was organized to stimulate, direct, and even finance migration to the distant territory. Counter-agencies appeared in the South. Everywhere in both sections people were urged to go to Kansas as a patriotic duty. A vast propaganda setting forth the advantages of living in the country beyond Missouri flooded the country. Party newspapers and party leaders made extensive use of every item pertaining to the struggle for Kansas. In fact, much of the conflict took place in the rest of the country and in the halls of Congress. Had not this outside controversy become so violent, there certainly would have been much less turmoil in Kansas.

The efforts put forth in the New England states were almost fruitless. The nativity statistics of the census of 1860 show that only 4,208 men, women, and children of New England birth were living in Kansas in that year. The attempts of southerners to persuade people of the Lower South to go to Kansas brought results close to failure. The numbers in the territory from the Deep South in 1860 reached a total of 1,007. The Atlantic states lying between New England and South Carolina accomplished more, but nothing decisive. New York and Pennsylvania contributed about equal numbers to Kansas, the aggregate being 12,794. Virginia and North Carolina together sent 4,721, a small contingent, but more than the aggregate from the six states of New England. It may be strongly asserted that if a single coastal state between Canada and the Rio Grande played an important part in the contest for Kansas, it was not through the number of colonists sent to that troubled territory.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ The numbers born in the New England states and living in Kansas in 1860 were: from Massachusetts, 1,282; from Vermont, 902; from Maine, 750; from Connecticut, 650; from New Hampshire, 466; from Rhode Island, 180. The numbers born in the seaboard states from South Carolina to Texas, inclusive, and living in Kansas in 1860 were: from South Carolina, 215; from Georgia, 179; from Florida 23; from Alabama, 240;

If there was any southern area that could have won Kansas for slavery, it was that made up of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri.⁴⁵ These three states did contribute more than 20,000 of the total of 27,440 free persons that flowed into Kansas from the entire South between 1854 and 1860. The points of significance are that Missouri was herself still in the process of being colonized and really had no surplus population to spare, and that colonists leaving Kentucky and Tennessee were influenced by the opportunities in competing areas more easily reached than was Kansas. It was only natural that colonists moving westward in tremendous numbers from New England and the Middle Atlantic states in the 1850's should not migrate to Kansas but, rather, should find opportunities and homes in what were then far more inviting areas nearer home and not disturbed by conflict or marked by such deep uncertainty. The most essential fact related to the outcome of the Kansas struggle, is that Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, though each of them sent more colonists elsewhere than to Kansas, did furnish enough to that distracted territory to turn the scale decisively

from Mississippi, 128; from Louisiana, 128; from Texas, 108. The numbers of colonists reaching "bleeding Kansas" from the New England states and the seaboard states of the South were indeed small. This, however, is not the thing to be wondered at, but rather how there could have been so many. Had it not been for the extensive and vigorous efforts made by agitators to induce people of these areas to migrate to Kansas, no one would expect them to have made a showing worth mentioning. Most of the common people of these remote states, who must become the colonists, if any, showed their good judgment in ignoring the appeals of over-zealous propagandists.

⁴⁵ Anyone who understands the conditions that prevailed in the 1850's will recognize at once the truth of this statement. Antislavery and proslavery leaders who were stirred up over the Kansas question failed to look the facts in the face. There were others, however, who were not so blind. See William O. Lynch, "Population Movements in Relation to the Struggle for Kansas," in *Studies in American History, Inscribed to James A. Woodburn* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1926), 391-98. The statement of one Lower South editor relative to the opportunity of the Upper South to send colonists to Kansas shows that he had no illusions:

"The border States were quite anxious for the bill [Kansas-Nebraska Act], and the planting States yielded to their solicitations and aided in its passage; let then the former which are nearer to the territories and can better spare citizens pour into Kansas as many friendly to the South as possible, either with or without slaves, and if money is necessary for the work let it be raised by Associations as in the North What say Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia?" *Mobile Advertiser*, ———, 1854 (clipping in Thomas H. Webb's Kansas Scrapbook, Kansas State Historical Society Library).

against slavery.⁴⁶ Under the conditions that controlled the westward movement in the 1850's, the South no longer had a chance in Kansas or in any other existing territory of the United States. Geography and the other factors shaping the flow of colonists to the Kansas-Nebraska area demonstrated how erroneous was the prophecy contained in the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" of 1854 that the Kansas-Nebraska measure would convert the country involved into "a dreary region of despotism inhabited by masters and slaves."⁴⁷

California, a new and distant area, also merits notice. A part of the Mexican Cession, the discovery of gold brought many times the number of people to this old Spanish country in a year than had found their way to it in the whole period since its exploration. Having learned something of its fertile valleys and mild climate, southerners interested in slavery naturally experienced a brief hour of expectancy in regard to California, but they were to be disappointed. Allowed to skip the territorial stage, the vast province was railroaded into the Union during

⁴⁶ These three states together furnished 30,929 colonists to Kansas by 1860, a number greater than the total from all of the slaveholding states. Many who went to Kansas Territory from the Upper South were not interested in slavery, but, had all of them been champions of the institution, they could have been swamped by the contingents from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

⁴⁷ In a paper, relative to the colonization of Kansas, which the author read before a session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held at Minneapolis and St. Paul, May 9-11, 1918, he concluded with this paragraph:

"Though the struggle for Kansas resulted in an antislavery triumph, popular sovereignty has generally been regarded as a principle that failed because it produced turmoil and bloodshed in the one territory in which it was carried through to a decision. When it is recalled that in no remaining territorial district were the conditions so favorable to the successful use of slave labor as in Kansas, and that in no remaining district was there likely to occur a bitter struggle, is it not possible to maintain that popular sovereignty had stood the only difficult test that it would have been compelled to meet in a territory? Will not these considerations, combined with the fact that the North as a section had demonstrated a superior power to colonize in such a contest as that for Kansas, enable us to reverse the common verdict and assert that popular sovereignty had proved to be not only an antislavery principle, but also a successful principle? If not, was the Wilmot Proviso principle a successful principle, since, when about to be applied, it produced a Civil War, in which the North won a victory over the South?"

The truth is that before the Kansas conflict began, the further expansion of slavery in the United States was doomed. There was no additional area in which it was possible to build up a slaveholding regime. See the fine study by the late Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), XVI (1929), 151-71.

the crisis of 1850 with a constitution made by a mixed population who had lived there but a brief time—a constitution framed without authority from Congress.

The total population of California in 1850, the year of admission, was 92,597, less than seven thousand of whom were born within the limits of the new state. Gold-seekers, adventurers, and settlers had come from everywhere, among them hundreds who did not stay long. A good many of these more or less transient occupants, or visitors, left before the count was taken in 1850. In the matter of numbers from the sections, the non-slaveholding states were represented by over 38,000 and the slaveholding by less than 25,000 with the foreign-born running above 22,000. By 1860, the element from the non-slaveholding states, numbered above 100,000; that from the slaveholding states, over 45,000; that from foreign countries, slightly under the aggregate from the two groups of American states outside of California.⁴⁸ California was a melting-pot from the first, but with a task of amalgamation that could not be accomplished. The South, as a whole, did not perform poorly in the work of colonizing California, but the Upper South far overshadowed the Lower South. The emigrants from the eastern non-slaveholding states totaled more than twice those from the non-slaveholding states west of Pennsylvania.⁴⁹ Though there was no chance for slavery in California, the state did not turn overwhelmingly to the Republican party, the vote of 1860 being divided between the four party tickets. Lincoln and Douglas each received slightly under 40,000 votes, with the former in the lead, but the combined vote of Breckinridge and Bell was higher than the separate vote of either Lincoln or

⁴⁸ Foreign born in California in 1860 numbered 146,528. This total included: 50,306 from the British Isles (Ireland, 33,147); 34,935 from China; 21,646 from German states; 9,150 from Mexico; 8,462 from France; 5,437 from British America. The most startling figures are those indicating the numbers from China and Ireland that were living in California in 1860. It should be stated, however, that, adding to the numbers born in other states those from the territories, the total number of foreigners in California in 1860 was less than the number born in the United States outside of California.

⁴⁹ From the non-slaveholding states east of Ohio, the total in California in 1860 numbered 74,214; from the non-slaveholding states and territories west of Pennsylvania, the total was 34,224. The number of persons born in New England and living in California in 1860 was 32,266; living in Kansas, 4,208—a most interesting contrast considering the antislavery crusade that was being carried on in regard to Kansas.

Douglas. Lincoln, with a plurality in nine counties, won a plurality in the state, while Douglas and Breckinridge, with a plurality in seventeen counties each, were both slightly behind Lincoln.⁵⁰ The vote for each candidate was well scattered over the state, an evidence that the population was not sectionalized to any marked degree by geographic areas within the new commonwealth.

The number of slaves enumerated in the United States in 1820 was 1,528,038. In 1860, the number was 3,953,760. It was possible to absorb into the economic system of the South and use most of this vast increase because of the expansion of the plantation system over extensive new areas. In 1820, the number of slaves in the United States outside of the area of the old thirteen states was less than 400,000, as against more than a million in the old states. By 1860, though the total number in the original southern states had increased, the number of slaves in the states admitted after 1789 had expanded to well above 2,000,000. This meant both the movement of masters with slaves from old to new states and the sale of slaves to citizens in new areas where additional labor was needed. The greater the number of slaves in new areas where additional laborers were needed, the more the demand tended to be supplied through natural increase; but such natural increase was not at all adequate in rapidly developing areas such as the new cotton country even as late as the 1850's. The main outlet for the surplus slaves in old areas like Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina was through sale to slave traders.⁵¹ Some relief was gained through emancipation, especially when the freed Negroes migrated to non-slaveholding states. Such free colored persons were not welcomed in most of the non-slaveholding states. By some, they were forbidden to come by laws or by constitutional provisions.⁵²

⁵⁰ The statements are based on the election returns published in the *Tribune Almanac* for 1861. Popular vote for the four candidates: Lincoln, 39,173; Douglas, 38,516; Breckinridge, 34,334; Bell, 6,817.

⁵¹ Frederic Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore, 1931), Chaps. III, V, XI; Ralph B. Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1933), Chap. VIII; Charles S. Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (New York, 1933), Chap. VII.

⁵² The reception of free colored people who came to non-slaveholding states is an interesting feature of the period when the contest over slavery reached its height. The

In Delaware and Maryland, where emancipation of slaves occurred from year to year and where many slaves were purchased and carried away, the number of slaves decreased between 1820 and 1860.⁵³ In Virginia and North Carolina very few slaves were purchased outside, or otherwise brought in, and large numbers were sold for use in other states or carried out by migrating owners. There were nevertheless expanding slave populations. It is very remarkable that Virginians should have owned 490,865 in 1860, a greater number than could be found in any other state.⁵⁴ Only in one decade, between 1830 and 1840, had the number decreased.⁵⁵ In the same decade, the slave population of North Carolina was stationary, but, as in Virginia, there was an increase in each of the other census periods.⁵⁶ It is not to be wondered at that the South favored the expansion of the slaveholding area.

As the frontier, North and South, pushed westward, decade after decade, there developed in the North a determined movement to limit the expansion of slavery. Not many years were required for this crusade to assume menacing proportions. It seems strange now that more of the intelligent leaders of both sections did not grasp the fact that the slave labor system had expanded over about as much of the United States as it could ever occupy—that soil, altitude, and climate had set bounds beyond which slavery could not pass. Daniel Webster meant something very close to this when he said in 1850: "I would not take the pains uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of nature nor to

free colored population of non-slaveholding states, where it was 1,000 or more in 1850, follows: Massachusetts, 9,064; Connecticut, 7,693; Rhode Island, 3,670; New York, 49,069; New Jersey, 23,810; Pennsylvania, 56,949; Ohio, 25,279; Indiana, 11,262; Illinois, 5,436; Michigan, 2,583. The aggregate increase of the number of free Negroes in these states from 1850 to 1860 was between twenty-three and twenty-four thousand. About two-thirds of this increase took place in Ohio and Michigan. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, the gains were slight, hardly equal to the natural increase. In New York, there was a small decrease between 1850 and 1860.

⁵³ In 1820, the number of slaves in Delaware was 4,509; in 1860, 1,798. In Maryland, the corresponding numbers were 107,397 and 87,189.

⁵⁴ The other states having more than 400,000 slaves in 1860 were: Georgia, 462,198; Mississippi, 436,631; Alabama, 435,080; South Carolina, 402,406.

⁵⁵ In 1830, the number of slaves in Virginia was 469,757; in 1840, 449,087.

⁵⁶ In 1830, the number of slaves in North Carolina was 245,610; in 1840, 245,817.

reenact the will of God."⁵⁷ Stephen A. Douglas understood the geography of the West and felt sure of his policy in reference to slavery beyond Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri.⁵⁸

Kansas Territory, just west of Missouri, was on the borderland, hardly debatable ground, but was made such by the American people in the few years following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. There was no existing federal territory, save Kansas, where there was any chance for slavery. This made the struggle for that territory under popular sovereignty the only test to which that principle would be subjected. In the indirect referendum of August 2, 1858, the voters of Kansas decided against slavery by a large majority, but even if the result had been the reverse, it would have been the last victory for slavery in any territory. This is true for two reasons: first, because the physical conditions in the remaining unsettled federal territories were against the profitable use of slaves; second, because the power of northerners, aided by incoming foreigners, to colonize new areas had reached too high a point to be matched by southerners.

The westward movement in the Old South was controlled by many factors of which slavery was only one. Of the vast number of southerners who migrated to the northern frontier only a small proportion were trying to get away from slavery. Nearly all of them came out of the older areas of the Upper South into parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois where the climatic conditions were not seriously different from those with which they were familiar. The routes over which they migrated led naturally to the Ohio, once they had passed the Alleghany or Cum-

⁵⁷ "Seventh of March Speech," delivered in the Senate on March 7, 1850. The word "uselessly" was not in the quoted passage when the speech was delivered, but was inserted by Webster before it appeared in the *Congressional Globe*.

⁵⁸ In regard to the future of slavery in the country covered by the pending Nebraska Bill, Douglas said in the Senate on January 30, 1854: "But when settlers rush in—when labor becomes plenty, and therefore cheap, in that climate, with its production, it is worse than folly to think of it being a slaveholding country. I do not believe there is a man in Congress who thinks it could be permanently a slaveholding country. I have no idea that it could . . ." *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., 279. For clear statements of the beliefs of Douglas in regard to the possibility of the extension of slavery into new western areas in the 1850's, see Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1928), II, 108, 193.

berland barrier. The movement of northerners into the southern Piedmont before the Revolutionary War was heavy, especially from Pennsylvania. After the colonization of the upland South was completed, northerners no longer migrated into the older South, since there were no areas to which they could go where the geography and climate were inviting to them. They did not hesitate, however, to go to Missouri and Texas even though slavery was an established institution in both. One cannot escape the conclusion that most migrating southerners, and northerners likewise, would have sought homes and opportunities just about where they did had slavery not existed between 1783 and 1861.

John Bell and the Compromise of 1850

BY JOSEPH H. PARKS

A newcomer to Washington circles sat in the Senate gallery on the opening day of the Thirty-first Congress, December 3, 1849. Looking down from this vantage point, he proceeded to analyze the senators. "On the right of the main aisle were to be seen the massive head and deep-set eyes of Webster, the tall and commanding figure of Clay, the dark but genial face of Corwin, the white head of 'Honest John Davis,' the calm and cautious visage of John Bell, the scholarly looking head of Berrien, the tall forms of Mangum and Dayton, and the merry smile of John P. Hale; on the left, the portly form of General Cass, the towering bulk of General Houston, . . . the classic head and genial face of Colonel Benton, the long, grey locks and sharp attenuated features of Calhoun, the erect, slender figure of Jefferson Davis, the swarthy, foreign-looking face of Pierre Soulé, the energetic, black-clothed 'Little Giant' Douglas, the dark, curling locks of Hunter, and the silver-haired familiar face of Daniel S. Dickinson."¹ These were to be prominent participants in the Senate battle over the Compromise of 1850; and in the development of the spirit of compromise the work of John Bell of Tennessee as a leader of the moderate or middle-of-the-road southerners on the question of slavery in the territories was to play an important part.

John Bell had entered the Senate in 1847.² Long a political enemy of James K. Polk, he had arrived in Washington in time to attack

¹ Frederick W. Seward, *Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and Diplomat, 1830-1915* (New York, 1916), 70. Seward had just come to Washington to serve as secretary to his father, William H. Seward, a newly-elected senator from New York.

² Bell entered national politics in 1827 when he defeated Felix Grundy for a seat in the House of Representatives, a position which he continued to hold until he was ap-

severely the President's Mexican War policy. Bell had never been an enthusiastic supporter of the war, believing that it "might and should" have been avoided. In his opinion, the evils which resulted from territorial expansion too frequently offset the benefits. This opinion was strengthened by the fight which was already raging over the Wilmot Proviso. Accordingly, when President Polk recommended to Congress that the United States continue to occupy additional Mexican territory, "taking the full measure of indemnity into our own hands," Bell came out in open opposition to further prosecution of the war. While he had no particular desire to annex any Mexican territory, he said, he would not object to taking New Mexico and California if it required such action to satisfy the expansionists; but if Mexico should refuse to surrender these territories, he advocated falling back to the Rio Grande as the boundary. Most of all, he demanded immediate peace, exhorting his fellow senators to "Stop the War! Flee the country as you would a city doomed to destruction by fire from Heaven!"³ But on February 2, 1848, the day Bell began his two-day denunciation of the administration's war policy, the Mexican government signed the treaty at Guadalupe Hidalgo, ceding New Mexico and California to the United States. When the treaty came before the Senate for ratification Bell voted in the affirmative. He later explained that he did so "under a solemn feeling of responsibility and conviction that if the war went on, we would be compelled to take all Mexico and incorporate it into this con-

pointed Secretary of War by President William Henry Harrison in 1841. During his early years in Congress, Bell was a supporter of Andrew Jackson, but by 1834 he was in the process of joining the opposition. In that year he defeated James K. Polk for the privilege of succeeding Andrew Stevenson as Speaker of the House. By taking the lead in defying Jackson and bringing out Hugh Lawson White against Martin Van Buren in the presidential election of 1836, Bell completed his break with the Democrats. He was the principal figure in the organization of the Whig party in Tennessee, and continued as leader throughout the life of that party. In 1841 he served a few months as Secretary of War, resigning as a result of the split between President Tyler and the forces of Henry Clay. For the next six years Bell remained in private life.

For an excellent summary of Bell's career as a member of the House, see Norman L. Parks, "The Career of John Bell as Congressman from Tennessee, 1827-1841," in *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville, 1942-), I (1942), 229-49.

³ *Congressional Globe*, 30 Congress, 1 Session, Appendix, 189 ff. (February 2-3, 1848).

federacy." Such a step would be "ruinous," he said, and "Mexico would be the grave of our liberties." He pronounced the acquisition of New Mexico and California a "curse," and prophesied that the Wilmot Proviso would be applied. Thus in supporting the treaty, he had voted for the lesser of two evils. He preferred annexing New Mexico and California to continuing the war and eventually annexing all of Mexico.⁴

The famous Wilmot Proviso had injected the question of slavery extension into the discussion of territorial adjustment several months before the signing of the treaty with Mexico, and though it was never accepted by the Senate, it remained as a threat to the pro-slavery cause. The actual acquisition of New Mexico and California increased the intensity of the slavery struggle. President Polk was an expansionist, but he gave no evidence of a special desire to see slavery extended into the newly-acquired territory.⁵ He was soon convinced that the pro- and anti-slavery extremists would never be able to agree on the question of slavery in the territories of New Mexico and California. He did not believe there would ever be any extensive importation of slaves into those territories, yet his pro-slavery sympathies caused him to doubt the advisability of congressional restriction on slavery south of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes. Such an attempt to restrict, he feared, would endanger the Union.⁶ He stated definitely that he would accept either an extension of the Missouri Compromise line or a proposition to allow the people of the territories to decide the question for themselves.⁷

As weeks passed and Congress still took no action relative to governments for the territories, Polk became anxious lest the rapidly increasing population of California should cause that region to take matters into its own hands to the extent of setting up an independent government. He was beginning to suspect that the friends of President-elect Zachary Taylor would welcome such action since it would relieve the

⁴ Nashville *Republican Banner*, September 29, 1848.

⁵ Eugene I. McCormac, *James K. Polk; A Political Biography* (Berkeley, 1922), 616 ff.

⁶ James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 20 vols. (New York, 1917), VI, 2458.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 2491-92.

General of embarrassment over the Wilmot Proviso.⁸ It must have been by this line of reasoning that Polk reached the decision to recommend the admission of California as a state. Accordingly, he persuaded Stephen A. Douglas to sponsor a bill admitting California and providing a territorial government for New Mexico. Douglas sought to have his bill sent to the committee on territories, of which he was chairman, but Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina objected and the bill went to the judiciary committee. This committee made an adverse report and presented a majority resolution calling for the creation of territorial governments for New Mexico and California.⁹

It was late in January, 1849, when the California bill was brought before the Senate. Slightly more than a month remained in the session. The opposition sought to stall action by urging that the remainder of the session be spent in the passage of the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill. But a group of pro-slavery men and their "doughface" friends refused to be sidetracked. When the appropriation bill was called up in the Senate committee of the whole on February 22, Isaac P. Walker of Wisconsin proposed a rider which called for the application of the Constitution and all applicable United States laws to the territories of New Mexico and California.¹⁰ This action would have given to the territories the benefits of law and order and yet evaded the question of slavery.

For once in recent years, John Bell at least partially agreed with James K. Polk. Bell wished to see California admitted to the Union, but showed no interest in the President's plan for a territorial government for New Mexico. The California case was urgent; New Mexico could wait. Accordingly, Bell moved to alter Walker's amendment so as to provide for the admission of California as a state. Butler protested that the proposal was out of order but the Chair sustained Bell. John P. Hale of New Hampshire then appealed to the Senate to override the decision of the Chair. Butler, not wishing to see the con-

⁸ Milo M. Quaife (ed.), *The Diary of James K. Polk during His Presidency*, 4 vols. (Chicago, 1910), IV, 231-33.

⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., 190-92 (January 9, 1849).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 561 (February 20, 1849).

troversy carried further, sought to withdraw his question of order, but John M. Berrien of Georgia declared such a withdrawal to be out of order. John C. Calhoun denounced Bell's proposal as incongruous with the original proposition. "I appeal to the Senate," he shouted, "that if there ever was a case of incongruity, this is one." "I call the Senator to order," cried Bell, who explained that it was not the question of incongruity but the appeal from the decision of the Chair which was before the Senate. But the question of incongruity was somewhere laid down in Jefferson's *Manual*, insisted Calhoun. Bell retorted that he knew the rules and demanded that his proposition be disposed of by a vote of the Senate.¹¹ This verbal battle so confused Samuel S. Phelps of Vermont that he confessed he did not "understand the question before the Senate."¹²

Bell offered to withdraw his amendment if the Senate would assure him that the California bill would be taken up as soon as the general appropriation bill was passed. Such assurance not being received, he then explained that his amendment was offered in order that he might have an opportunity to speak.¹³ He then launched an attack upon the recent report made by the judiciary committee. The report had stated that Congress possessed no power to create a state, such an act being left to the people of the territory from which the state was to be carved. Bell took the opposite view, contending that Congress alone could create a state. In support of its position, the committee had pointed out that it had been the custom in all cases where states were carved from territory ceded by other states or by foreign countries to require a period of territorial government before admission as states. This Bell denied. He pointed to the case of Kentucky which, he maintained, was ceded to the federal government by Virginia and admitted as a state without having gone through a territorial stage. If this could be done in the case of Kentucky, then why not in the case of California which was certainly more urgent. In view of the rapid increase in

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 561-62.

¹² *Ibid.*, 562.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 565-66.

population in California, Bell prophesied that, should the government fail to provide some kind of restraint within the next eighteen months, the territory would be "overrun with hordes of reckless adventurers, rendering it almost a moral impossibility that a constitution could be formed and maintained."¹⁴

Berrien denounced Bell's argument as "suicidal." Were senators and the American people as a whole willing to share their birthright with the people such as those described by the senator from Tennessee? Certainly such people must be restrained, but why could it not be done by a territorial government rather than by admitting them into the Union? The judiciary committee was right. Such people should be kept "in a state of pupilage until they shall be better qualified to enjoy the privileges of American citizens and to become members of this Union." Furthermore, Berrien insisted, Congress could not make those people into a state even if it chose to do so. The Constitution conferred upon Congress the power to admit states but no power to create any. The framers intentionally omitted such a grant, he believed, in obedience to "the principle of popular sovereignty . . . which required that those who are to constitute the State are alone competent to organize it."¹⁵

Bell's amendment was defeated 39 to 4, Augustus C. Dodge of Iowa, Solomon W. Downs of Louisiana, and Douglas of Illinois voting with Bell in the affirmative. Walker's amendment was accepted by the committee of the whole, but was later stricken from the bill. Thus the Thirtieth Congress and the Polk administration came to an end, leaving New Mexico and California without organized governments. The *Memphis Eagle* probably expressed the dominant sentiment in the South when it remarked: "We regret sincerely that no government was provided for so important a territory [California] but our regret is modified by the satisfaction we feel in remembering that the opportunity to fasten an insult upon the South was not ungenerously seized upon."¹⁶

In the meantime, the Whigs had elected Zachary Taylor president.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Appendix, 253-54 (February 21, 1849).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Memphis Eagle*, March 12, 1849.

John Bell was among the original Taylor men in Tennessee. He realized that, even though many Whigs had opposed the war with Mexico, there was no reason why his party should not capitalize on the popularity of one of the successful Whig generals. As early as May 8, 1847, he publicly announced his hearty support of Taylor for president.¹⁷ Clay's friends in Tennessee became alarmed. Boyd McNairy notified John J. Crittenden that Bell "is against our old friend H. Clay; & rumor says, & I believe it, he is for California & New Mexico at all hazards." Bell's manipulations in his recent fight for a seat in the Senate, plus his support of Taylor, had "broken down the Whig party in Tennessee." McNairy was convinced that "Old [Andrew] Jackson told the truth about him, for *Self*, he would do any thing." John Bell must be watched "by day & by night."¹⁸

McNairy had guessed well. Bell had developed a definite distrust for the leadership of Clay. Writing to William B. Campbell on April 13, 1848, he expressed the belief that Clay was "prepared to cut loose from the South and rely upon the free states to elect him." He believed that Taylor was the South's only hope. Even if Taylor were elected, Bell feared he would be "the last of the Mohicans." Yet there was hope that the General might "by his justice, moderation and firmness stay the tide of fanaticism at the North." Most of the "Clay storm" in the North was for the purpose of destroying Taylor rather than electing Clay. Other leaders in the Clay movement had wished only to compliment the aged Whig leader, expecting that he would accept the glory but retire in favor of Taylor. Indeed, this expectation had been encouraged by Clay. Bell knew the fanatics of the North were all opposed to the General, but "the politicians while they all want a Northern man are many of them willing to take Taylor." He had found only three members of Congress who thought Clay would have a chance of being elected should he get the Whig nomination.¹⁹

¹⁷ Memphis *American Eagle*, May 20, 1847.

¹⁸ Boyd McNairy to John J. Crittenden, November 23, 1847, in Crittenden Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁹ Bell to William B. Campbell, April 13, 1848, in David Campbell Papers (Duke University Library).

A month later Bell was still hopeful of Taylor's nomination but had lost all hope of northern support. The "North are now bent on having a Northern man" he informed Campbell. He believed Northern Whigs would accept Clay, however, since they considered him a northern man on the question of slavery. But even they knew Clay could not be elected. There were some indications that the Northern Whigs might take up John J. Crittenden whom they considered as holding Clay's views on the question of slavery. But Bell doubted whether Crittenden would attempt "to trip up the heels of old Zach." In his opinion Crittenden would make "the most negative sort of a Whig President."²⁰ There was also a personal side to Bell's opposition to Clay and Crittenden. He confided to Campbell that if either of the two should be made president the Ephraim H. Foster-James C. Jones clique would be their "chosen friends" in Tennessee.²¹ Still Bell insisted that his real opposition was based on the fact that he would prefer "a Northern man with Southern feelings to a Southern man with Northern feelings." Crittenden's actions during the past year had convinced Bell that the Kentuckian was "playing the game." As to the Democratic nomination, he still suspected that Polk had hopes. The President's statement to the contrary was pronounced as "all fudge."²²

When Taylor was nominated by the Whigs and the Democratic nomination went to Lewis Cass, Bell was enthusiastic in his support of Taylor. In an address before a political gathering at Murfreesboro, he praised the General as one who always acted for the welfare of his country, and who, despite his lack of political experience, possessed the endowments requisite for the "highest civil office in a period of peril." Bell did not "regard the sink or swim with one man [Clay] principle an article of Whig faith. We were not bound to adhere to one man through life, although we might be to one woman!" He did not wish to detract from the merits of Clay, but he felt that many men

²⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, May 23, 1848, *ibid.* Bell was either strangely unaware of Crittenden's activities in behalf of Taylor or chose to ignore them. See William O. Lynch, "Zachary Taylor as President," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), IV (1938), 281-82.

²¹ Foster and Jones were leaders of the Clay Whigs in Tennessee.

²² Bell to William B. Campbell, May 23, 1848, in *David Campbell Papers*.

were fixed in their hostility toward him. General Taylor was a man in whose support "the honest and patriotic of all parties could unite."²³

Bell's enthusiastic support of Taylor for the nomination and during the campaign which followed elicited much comment. His critics charged that he was angling for a cabinet post. Bell made an effort to check this rumor with a definite statement that he preferred his seat in the Senate to any cabinet position.²⁴ Following Taylor's election, however, Bell's friends revived the subject and strongly advocated his appointment. William G. ["Parson"] Brownlow, editor of the Jonesborough *Whig*, took the lead. "For moderation, calculation, foresight, firmness, energy and great caution," he declared, Bell had "no superior." There was no man to whom Taylor was quite so much indebted as to Bell for his efforts both at the Philadelphia convention and in the campaign in Tennessee.²⁵ It was also rumored that the Whig senator from Tennessee would probably be the next minister to Great Britain.²⁶ There is no evidence that Bell desired a cabinet or foreign post, but undoubtedly he expected to wield considerable influence in administration circles.

With the election of Taylor, the Whigs again returned to power after a number of years of absence from the government payroll. "Parson" Brownlow journeyed to Washington for the inauguration, and incidentally to view the patronage possibilities for his friends in East Tennessee. He was delighted to learn of the esteem in which his friend Bell was held in Washington circles. From what the "Parson" could learn, Bell ranked "No. 1 in the Senate." He reported that some of the ultra pro-slavery men had made an effort to prejudice the President-elect against the leader of the Tennessee Whigs, but they had failed utterly. Instead, no sooner had the General taken up quarters in the city than he sent for Bell to advise with him.²⁷

²³ Quotations are from a summary of Bell's speech as reported in the *Nashville Republican Banner*, September 29, 1848.

²⁴ Bell to William B. Campbell, April 13, 1848, in *David Campbell Papers*.

²⁵ *New York Tribune*, quoted in *Memphis Eagle*, December 14, 1848; Jonesborough (Tenn.) *Whig*, November 29, 1848.

²⁶ *New York Herald*, quoted in *Memphis Eagle*, April 18, 1849.

²⁷ William G. Brownlow to Thomas A. R. Nelson, March 2, 1849, in *Thomas A. R. Nelson Papers* (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

Two weeks after the inauguration Brownlow was even more impressed. "Bell is regarded as the right arm of the Administration in the Senate," he wrote Thomas A. R. Nelson, "and evidently has great influence with the President and his Cabinet." As evidence, Brownlow pointed with pride to the long list of appointments that Bell had been able to secure for his friends.²⁸ Apparently many others shared Brownlow's opinion. Long before the inauguration Bell had been "literally overwhelmed" by office seekers from many states.

Since the new President was a Louisiana slaveholder and the father of the first wife of Jefferson Davis, his pro-slavery background and his silence on the important national issues gave hope to the ultra pro-slavery men that he might espouse their cause. The moderates hoped that his reputation for "justice, moderation and firmness," might incline him to check the extremists of both the North and the South. This was Bell's impression when, a few weeks after the inauguration, he confided to his friend Campbell: "I believe Gen. Taylor is entirely sound on every point."²⁹

Taylor's only annual message to Congress was presented early in December, 1849. He informed Congress that the people of the California territory, being "impelled by the necessities of their political condition," had formed a constitution and would soon ask for admission into the Union as a state. There was reason to believe that the people of New Mexico would soon do likewise. These people were establishing republican forms of government founded upon such principles as seemed to them "most likely to effect their safety and happiness." By extending to them this privilege, "all causes of uneasiness may be avoided and confidence and kind feeling preserved." In the interest of harmony and tranquility "we should abstain from the introduction of those exciting topics of a sectional character which have hitherto produced painful apprehension in the public mind."³⁰

It is clear that the President was not interested in the creation of any

²⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, March 19, 1849, *ibid.*

²⁹ Bell to William B. Campbell, April 13, 1848, April 14, 1849, in David Campbell Papers.

³⁰ Richardson (ed.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 2556-57.

territorial governments. Immediate admission of California and New Mexico as states would eliminate all need for a Wilmot Proviso or an extension of the Missouri Compromise line. Although he wished to see the people of these territories found their new state governments upon such principles as would "most likely effect their safety and happiness," he had no desire to see the principle of popular sovereignty applied to them while they remained in a territorial stage. His message offered no encouragement to those pro-slavery men who hoped to use the admission of California as a means towards the securing of slavery in New Mexico.

On January 23, 1850, the President sent to the Senate a supplementary message explaining and defending his action in sending a representative to California and New Mexico for the purpose of encouraging the residents to hasten the formation of state constitutions. In taking this step he "was actuated principally by an earnest desire to afford to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress the opportunity of avoiding occasions of bitter and angry dissension among the people of the United States." He was convinced that the admission of these territories as states would "remove all occasion for the unnecessary agitation of the public mind."³¹

Taylor's failure to take cognizance of the numerous other issues which clouded the political skies indicated that he did not fully grasp the complexity of the problems which faced the new Whig administration. In addition to the question of slavery in the territories, the boundary between Texas and New Mexico was in dispute. Abolitionists were demanding that slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia. The pro-slavery South was demanding that its property in slaves be better protected by a more adequate fugitive slave law.³²

But the venerable Whig leader, Henry Clay, though broken in health, was very much alive to the dangers which threatened not only the new administration but the Union itself. The coolness which characterized the relations between Taylor and Clay denied to the inexperienced

³¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 2565-66.

³² *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 91 (December 31, 1849), 119 (January 8, 1850), 165-71 (January 16, 1850).

President the counsel of the veteran statesman, but it in no way affected Clay's love for the Union. He believed it his duty to make every effort possible to bring opposing factions together in a plan which would relieve the tension and save the Union from destruction.

Having conferred with Daniel Webster and received encouragement from him,³³ Clay resolved to try a compromise plan. On January 29, 1850, he introduced in the Senate a series of resolutions providing for the admission of California as a free state; creation of a territorial government for the remainder of the territory acquired from Mexico, without restriction as to slavery; settlement of the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute by ceding a considerable portion of the territory to New Mexico and compensating Texas for the relinquishment of its claims; abolition of the slave trade but not slavery in the District of Columbia; passage of a more adequate fugitive slave law; and non-interference by Congress with the slave trade between the states.³⁴

On February 5 Clay spoke in support of his resolutions. In great earnestness he appealed to men both North and South to compromise their differences in the interest of the preservation of the Union. Why insist upon a Wilmot Proviso when slavery would never exist in these territories anyway? In view of all the benefits enjoyed by the South in the case of Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, why should pro-slavery men threaten extreme measures at the prospect of the first reverse? He begged extremists, both North and South, to pause before their actions led to "certain and irretrievable destruction."³⁵

Clay's compromise proposals pleased very few, North or South. Most northern senators insisted on restricting slavery in the territories. The more extreme among them also objected to the passage of a more vigorous fugitive slave law, and demanded that slavery, not just the slave trade, be abolished in the District of Columbia. The majority of the southern senators realized that California would inevitably become a free state, but they objected to the method used in framing its proposed free state constitution. Some would agree to the admission of California

³³ George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster*, 2 vols. (New York, 1870), II, 397.

³⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 244-47 (January 29, 1850).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Appendix, 115-27 (February 5-6, 1850).

under this constitution, but all demanded that there should be no restrictions on slavery in the territories of New Mexico and Utah. Furthermore, when those territories should present themselves for statehood, they must be admitted either with or without slavery according to the desire of the inhabitants.³⁶

The success of Clay's compromise plan depended largely upon the attitude of the administration. The coolness between the President and the senator from Kentucky did not help the situation. Had Clay's proposals been made by some person in a position similar to that occupied by Bell, the chance of winning administration support would have been improved. Bell's known conservatism on the question of the extension of slavery and his friendly relations with Taylor gave him a position of some importance. During the first month of the debate, he was busily engaged in compiling the opinions of "at least a dozen honorable Senators" who like himself disapproved of parts of Clay's plan and had no particular desire to follow his leadership. This group, later characterized by Bell as "partial friends," believed that a plan offered by a man in Bell's position would aid the "prospect of a satisfactory adjustment."³⁷

Bell placed his compilation of opinions before the Senate on February 28 in the form of a set of proposals. By way of introduction, he expressed the belief that no proposition offered by a southern man would have any "particular weight or influence" in adjusting this controversy. Such a proposition must come from the North, the section which possessed the power to settle these questions. Nevertheless, he wished to present a plan of compromise.

The resolution by which Texas was made a state in the Union, Bell explained, had provided that, with the consent of that state, as many as four states might be carved from her territory. Those new states which should be carved from the territory south of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes were to be admitted either with or without slavery according to the wishes of the inhabitants. Therefore, he proposed that as soon

³⁶ Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1870), II, 200-201.

³⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 1089 (July 3, 1850).

as the legislature of Texas should give its consent the western boundary of that state should be set at the Trinity River. All territory claimed by Texas which lay west of the Trinity and south of thirty-four degrees should be admitted into the Union as a separate state either with or without slavery as the inhabitants preferred. It was rumored that should such a proposed state apply for admission the North would disregard the provisions of the Texas resolution. "It is for the purpose of meeting and quieting this apprehension of the South, and for the soothing effect which the admission of such a state into the Union now would have, that I have thought proper to propose it."

It had long been the practice to balance the admission of a free state with the admission of a slave state. Of course this practice could not be continued indefinitely, but Bell reasoned that it might be used at least once more by carving a new state from Texas to balance the admission of California as a free state. He envisioned the carving of at least ten new free states from the territories within the next decade, but he was unable to see the equivalent in slave states. He therefore insisted that his proposal be accepted "in conformity with ancient practice, which must soon be abandoned." There was no assurance that the Texas representatives in Congress would support the plan or that the legislature of that state would give its consent; but, even though such consent might be refused, "here is a peace offering" which would bear witness to northern desire for justice. The responsibility for failure would rest upon the shoulders of Texas and the South.

Bell further suggested that when that portion of the proposed new state which lay west of the Colorado River should have a population equal to the number required for a representative in Congress, it should be cut off and admitted as a state either with or without slavery. It would certainly be a slave state but that fact should not unduly alarm northern senators since when this state should be admitted it would be the "last of its race." As long as the Union should last there could never be another slave state. Local hostility would prevent any further division of Texas.

Texas should also be requested to cede to the United States its claim to all territory north of thirty-four degrees and west of the Colorado.

For this cession Texas would receive a stipulated sum of money to be applied on its debts. The cost to the United States, Bell thought, would be a minor matter if such a cession could be the means of helping to preserve the Union. Should Texas agree to cede this territory, it was to be joined with New Mexico and the whole be given a territorial government without restrictions on slavery. This territory was destined to be free; therefore, restrictions on slavery would be "both objectionable and unnecessary." "While the present organization of material creation stands, African slavery can never find a foothold in New Mexico." All labor demands there would be met by Indians and immigrant whites. "Why then, upon the vague fear in the minds of gentlemen that some contingency—the bare conjecture of an accident now inconceivable to the imagination—should the fate of the Union, or its continued harmony, be jeopardized by insisting upon a slavery restriction clause?" Even if the Missouri Compromise line should be extended it would be a "barren victory." The principle would be preserved, but there would be no territory to which to apply it. "I regard the establishment of the Missouri Compromise line as a thing of no value—a working of benefit of no kind."

Bell thought that a suitable government without restrictions on slavery should be provided for the remainder of the territory lying between California and New Mexico. California he would admit as a free state under its proposed constitution, but henceforth no territory should be permitted to frame a constitution "without the consent and authority of Congress."³⁸

Bell purposely omitted from his resolutions any proposals relative to fugitive slaves and slavery in the District of Columbia. He expressed his confidence that when the California and New Mexico controversies should be settled, other differences could be easily adjusted. It was his wish that his resolutions be referred to the committee on territories, of which Douglas was chairman. But Henry S. Foote of Mississippi proposed that they be sent to a special committee of thirteen which should

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 436-39 (February 28, 1850). For a map showing the proposed division of Texas into states, see William C. Binkley, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas, 1836-1850* (Berkeley, 1925), 208.

carry on an investigation with a view to presenting a plan for the "adjustment of all pending questions growing out of the institution of slavery." Thus there was precipitated a running debate which continued until April 19 before the proposed committee was finally selected.

There was variation of opinion as to what prompted the introduction of this second plan for settlement. Bell explained that he made no claim to authorship of his resolutions. He would not claim that even a single proposition was "entirely original." Most, if not all, of these proposals had "passed through the minds of at least a dozen honorable Senators."³⁹ By some persons the plan was considered a result of consultation among southerners who preferred an extension of the Missouri Compromise line, but realized they could not get it.⁴⁰ If a new free state was to be forced upon them they hoped to offset it by the immediate admission of a slave state also. Others saw in Bell's plan the substance of a "modified form of the Executive policy."⁴¹ This belief was strengthened by the fact that the chief organ of the administration, the *Washington Republic*, gave its enthusiastic support to the Bell proposals.⁴²

For more than six weeks the best talent in the Senate debated every phase of the slavery controversy. Calhoun, on the threshold of the grave, left his bed in order to oppose compromise. He sat with grim determination while his last defense of the South was read to the Senate by James M. Mason. Claiming that the balance which had once existed between the sections had been upset by legislation unfavorable to the South, he asserted that if the equilibrium should be further disturbed by the admission of California as a free state, the South could no longer hope for justice within the Union.⁴³

Webster gave his support to compromise. He believed that the Wilmot Proviso was unnecessary and could serve no purpose other

³⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 436.

⁴⁰ Washington correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, quoted in *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, March 12, 1850.

⁴¹ Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, II, 205.

⁴² *Washington Republic*, March 1-14, 1850.

⁴³ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 451 ff. (March 4, 1850).

than to humiliate the South. The activities of the abolitionists had been productive of no good, he said, but to the South he gave warning that peaceable withdrawal from the Union was impossible.⁴⁴ He had listened with interest to the arguments by Bell, and he was forced to admit the binding character of the Texas resolution. "I know no way, I candidly confess, in which this Government, acting in good faith . . . can relieve itself from that stipulation and pledge."⁴⁵ This confession on the part of Webster gave increased hope to the less radical southerners. "We have a tolerable prospect for a proper settlement of the slavery question," wrote Robert Toombs. "I should think it a strong prospect if it were not that the Calhoun wing of the South seem to desire no settlement and may perhaps go against any adjustment which would likely pass. The settlement will probably be in the main on the basis of Bell's proposition as backed by Webster."⁴⁶ The northern press opened an attack upon Webster for his apparent support of Bell's proposal relative to the division of Texas, but the *Washington Republic* hastened to his defense. "The most perverse ingenuity cannot alter, mystify, or change the interest or signification of the words employed" in the resolution under which Texas was annexed. Webster and Bell were correct. "The people [of Texas] MAY form States—Congress SHALL admit them, on the condition and guarantees prescribed."⁴⁷

Douglas gave his support to a part of Clay's compromise proposals, but William H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase vigorously denounced the institution of slavery, those who advocated its extension, and the compromise proposals in general.

The chief opposition to the creation of the proposed committee of thirteen came from those senators who wished to consider the California question separately. Roger S. Baldwin of Connecticut protested against connecting California with other controversies, and argued that since the President had asked that California be admitted immediately,

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 476 ff. (March 7, 1850).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 479.

⁴⁶ Toombs to Linton Stephens, March 22, 1850, in Ulrich B. Phillips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb*, in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1911, II (Washington, 1913), 188.

⁴⁷ *Washington Republic*, March 14, 1850.

his request should be considered. "I am opposed to this mixing of subjects which have no affinities," declared Thomas Hart Benton, "and am in favor of giving the application of California . . . a separate consideration, and an independent decision, upon its own merits."⁴⁸

Douglas pointed out that there were bills pending before the Senate touching all of the topics included in both the Clay and the Bell resolutions, and remarked that he could see no good reason to have a committee report others of the same nature. He wished to see the resolutions tabled and the bill to admit California considered.⁴⁹ A few days later Benton also attempted to have Foote's proposal set aside and the California bill called up, but failed by four votes. The clash between Benton and Foote became so heated as to cause both momentarily to lose control of themselves. Benton's threatening movements in the direction of Foote caused the latter to draw his pistol. No shots were fired, Henry Dodge of Wisconsin restraining Benton, Dickinson taking the gun from Foote, and Butler persuading him to take his seat.⁵⁰ Amid scenes such as this, the Senate voted to send both the Clay and the Bell resolutions to a select committee of thirteen.⁵¹

While the Senate had been debating, preparations were being made for the meeting of a Southern Convention at Nashville for the purpose of charting the proper course for the South to follow.⁵² The Whig press in Tennessee at first gave lukewarm support to the convention idea, but later denounced it as a disunionist movement sponsored by Democrats. Bell's Nashville organ, the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, was especially vigorous in its denunciations. The Democratic press attributed the *Banner's* "miraculous summerset" to the influence of the "potential voice" of Bell. It suspected Bell of being the

⁴⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 656 (April 8, 1850).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 662.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 762 (April 17, 1850).

⁵¹ The committee consisted of Clay, Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, Samuel S. Phelps of Vermont, Lewis Cass of Michigan, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, Bell of Tennessee, Berrien of Georgia, Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina, Solomon W. Downs of Louisiana, James M. Mason of Virginia, William R. King of Alabama, James Cooper of Pennsylvania, and Jesse D. Bright of Indiana.

⁵² See Dallas T. Herndon, "The Nashville Convention of 1850," in Alabama Historical Society, *Transactions* (Montgomery, 1897-1904), V (1904), 203-37.

author of the Tennessee opposition to the convention.⁵³ So far as was indicated by his press, Bell took no part in the plans for the convention. Instead, he expressed "liberal confidence" in the North's desire to settle great national questions "upon an equitable and liberal basis." This he believed to be the best method of eliminating sectional hostility, and he hoped that some good might come out of the convention; but he insisted that his opinion had no influence in determining the outcome.⁵⁴

The convention met on June 3, 1850, but proved to be less radical than its original sponsors probably intended. The growing interest in compromise had cut heavily into the ranks of those who had once leaned toward a more sectional mode of settlement. The most radical recommendation adopted by the convention was one for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line, a proposal which no longer had a chance to pass Congress.

In the meantime, the committee of thirteen made its report on May 8. In substance its recommendations and the accompanying bills were the same as Clay's resolutions. The first three resolutions were incorporated in one bill; the next two in separate bills.⁵⁵ A death blow was dealt the heart of Bell's proposals when it was recommended that the question of carving new states from Texas should be postponed until the people and legislature of Texas requested it. There was little hope that Texas would ever voluntarily make such a request. The acceptance of this recommendation destroyed the last chance for the admission of another slave state.

Even before the committee made its report, Taylor had decided against the Clay compromise. The General had come under the influence of William H. Seward of New York. Seward favored the Wilmot Proviso, but being unable to bring Taylor around to this view,

⁵³ *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, January 28, 1850; *Nashville Daily Union*, March 13, 1850. For a discussion of Tennessee's part in the convention, see St. George L. Sioussat, "Tennessee, the Compromise of 1850, and the Nashville Convention," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), II (1915), 313-47.

⁵⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 438 (February 28, 1850).

⁵⁵ For the committee report, see *Senate Reports*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 123.

he joined with him in a "plan of non-action."⁵⁶ When the *Republic*, the administration's Washington organ, came out in favor of compromise and attempted to show that the committee's proposals differed from the President's plan in detail only, Taylor became so angry as to demand either a change in editors or the establishment of a new organ. Editors Alexander C. Bullitt and John N. Sargent were induced to resign, and Allen A. Hall, assistant secretary of the treasury and a former Nashville editor, took over the editorial chair.⁵⁷ Hall was a close friend of John Bell and had been his staunch supporter in the long Bell-Polk controversy. Early in the Taylor administration Bell had been responsible for the appointment of Hall to the position in the Treasury Department, an act which made the Tennessee editor the "happiest man" Bell had ever seen.⁵⁸

Before the resignation of the editors, Clay, believing that the attitude of the *Republic* probably indicated a change on the part of the President, opened the debate with a conciliatory speech. But when the President unmasked himself the Kentucky senator did likewise. On May 21 he opened up a severe attack upon Taylor for his opposition to the compromise and his policy toward New Mexico. The nation had five bleeding wounds, he explained. The President's plan to admit California would heal one only, leaving the "other four to bleed more profusely than ever." The President would do nothing for the territories or to settle the other controversies. Meanwhile, New Mexico was being governed by an army officer. "Stand up, Whig who can—stand up Democrat who can," cried Clay, "and defend the establishment of a military government in this free and glorious Republic, in a time of profound peace!" And the President proposed to continue this type of government until New Mexico was admitted as a state.⁵⁹

Debate on the committee's recommendations and the accompanying

⁵⁶ Salmon P. Chase to Charles Sumner, April 13, 1850, in Edward G. Bourne (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase*, in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1902, II (Washington, 1903), 208.

⁵⁷ *Washington Republic*, March 14, 1850; George R. Poage, *Henry Clay and the Whig Party* (Chapel Hill, 1936), 229-31.

⁵⁸ Bell to William B. Campbell, April 14, 1849, in David Campbell Papers.

⁵⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 615 (May 21, 1850).

bills continued for almost five months. Every senator who felt a desire to speak was given an opportunity. On July 3 Bell began a three-day argument, in which he explained that from the day he learned that the Polk administration would demand further acquisition of territory from Mexico, he had had a "pretty clear perception of the dissension likely to grow out of it." He stated that as soon as the treaty was signed he began advocating a speedy settlement of a nature which would make it "final and irrevocable, leaving no open questions to irritate and fester in the public mind." This conviction had prompted him to oppose the Clayton compromise proposals in 1848,⁶⁰ which could have no other result than a postponement of a decision on a question which would become more and more aggravated each day. For this reason, he said, he had advocated during the last Congress that these territories be admitted as states, leaving the question of slavery to be settled by the inhabitants. Had his course been adopted, the territories would now be enjoying the protection of organized government and much of the dissension between North and South would have been repressed. He had been severely assailed for his efforts in behalf of such a settlement, but he still insisted that the plan violated "no principle of the Constitution and no well-settled sentiment of right or justice."

As to the bills then before the Senate, Bell asserted that he had not committed himself. Before he could give his complete approval these bills must be reshaped. In their present form, he feared they would not produce the harmony promised by their sponsors. They still contained "elements of continued agitation and discord." The whole plan proposed by the committee was lacking in comprehensiveness. When giants like Clay, Webster, Cass, and Foote put their heads to a task the public had a right to expect something better than it got. The plan

⁶⁰ The Clayton compromise proposal provided for the creation of territorial governments for California and New Mexico, and forbade the territorial legislatures to pass laws relative to slavery. Disputes over slavery were to be tried in the territorial courts with the right of appeal to the United States Supreme Court. This proposal was adopted by the Senate, but was tabled in the House. *Cong. Globe*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., 1002-1005 (July 26, 1848).

they presented was nothing more than a "piece of political joinery." He predicted that unless a more comprehensive and permanent plan should be adopted, a "controversy would arise in the South which would shake the fabric of this Union" to its very foundation.

Bell expressed regret at having presented his plan of compromise. It did not correctly present his views, he said, but he was still convinced that the proposal to divide Texas was sound. Although some members of the committee had denounced it as "impolitic and injurious," he still insisted that such a division would discharge an obligation and defeat an evil by anticipating it. This was an adjustment which must be made within the next few years, so why attempt to settle other questions and leave Texas to disturb the harmony.

Bell came to the defense of President Taylor's action relative to California. The President by encouraging California to request admission to the Union had violated no law, nor had he been guilty of usurpation. The Chief Executive had merely recommended the formation of a state constitution. Congress alone could give vitality to this document. Surely the President's action had placed no restrictions on the action of Congress. Bell regretted to see members under the leadership of Clay make the antagonism of the two plans appear as an issue between Congress and the President.⁶¹

Clay, shaking his head in protest, exclaimed that he would have been glad to see the President adopt either one of two courses—keep silent or support a plan of compromise. But instead "war, open war, undisguised war, was made by the administration and its partisans against the plan of the committee." If he understood the President's action correctly, Taylor refused to support any plan other than his own. But Clay served notice that he would defend the plan of the committee "against a thousand Presidents, be they whom they may." In that case, Bell replied, the whole matter resolved itself into the question of "whether Mahomet will go to the mountain, or the mountain shall come to Mahomet." Which was the mountain and which was Mahomet

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 1091 (July 3, 1850).

he would not undertake to determine. "I beg pardon," retorted Clay, "but I only wanted the mountain to let me alone."⁶²

Clay averred that the plan presented by the committee would have passed both houses without serious difficulty had the President supported it or even kept silent. This he believed to be the opinion in the mouth of "every member of Congress." Jefferson Davis protested. Nothing like that had ever been in his mouth. He wanted his constituents to understand clearly that he was not under executive influence. In fact he knew of no executive influence. "I do," exclaimed Foote, who went on to say that if Bell wished to make an issue of it, he would prove that the cabinet had threatened members with the loss of their seats if they dared oppose the President. "I dare him [Bell] to make that issue," he screamed.⁶³

But Bell was cautious. Not wishing any proof from Foote, he sought to dismiss the subject with a statement that he had no knowledge of any effort to influence. Foote countered by asking about the dismissal of Bullitt and Sargent, editors of the *Republic*. Had they not been dismissed for expressing sentiments favorable to the committee's plan? Was not that sufficient evidence of influence?⁶⁴ Bell had retreated into a corner and must fight his way out. The editors of the *Republic*, he explained, were generally considered to be in close touch with the President. Since opinions expressed by them were interpreted as having come from the President, they should have correctly ascertained his views before expressing theirs. Instead, they had published misleading sentiments, causing the public to believe that President Taylor approved of the plan presented by the committee. For this violation of trust they should have been retired from the press.

Bell insisted that the President's determination to stand by his own plan did not constitute an attack upon the committee's plan. Clay's attitude toward Taylor had forced the latter either to stand firm in his own views or to surrender and "cease to be the President of the United States."⁶⁵ While Bell was making this vigorous defense of the Presi-

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1091-92.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1093.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1094 (July 5, 1850).

dent, it is unlikely that he was ignorant of the fact that Taylor was planning a cabinet shakeup, and was reported to be seriously considering him as the successor to Attorney General Reverdy Johnson.⁶⁶

Returning to a consideration of the compromise proposal, Bell argued that the organization of a territorial government for New Mexico was no substantial concession to the South. If he could have his way he would adopt "the spirit of the Missouri Compromise," setting aside a definite part of the territories to which a slaveholder might go with safety. If slavery should become established in the territory of New Mexico, was there any guarantee that Congress would ever admit that territory as a slave state? The chance that slavery would ever become established there was very slender, but it was enough to cause continued agitation in both the North and the South. On the other hand, if Congress would immediately admit New Mexico as a state "one of the bleeding wounds of the country" would be healed. The President had proposed such an admission without congressional interference on the question of slavery. The President's plan would close the controversy but the committee's plan would merely prolong it. His only interest in the matter, Bell insisted, was to restore "mutual trust and confidence" between the sections. He thought the committee's plan would not accomplish this result.⁶⁷

It is clear that Bell's interest in the committee's compromise proposals centered around the one concerning New Mexico. He had but little to say about the others. The only point of his own plan of compromise which he wished to preserve was the division of Texas.⁶⁸ When this was rejected he lost interest in the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute. As a slaveholder Bell felt compelled to defend the institution against the attacks by abolitionists. In spite of the preachings of "fanatic priests, or more learned and rational divines," he still preferred to interpret the law of God by the revelations of the history of mankind. History did not reveal a parallel to the growth and development of the African Negro under the supervision of his white master.

⁶⁶ Harriet A. Weed (ed.), *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884), 590-91.

⁶⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 1095-98.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1096.

Regardless of what greatness the future might hold for the Negro race, these people were not yet "prepared for any great change in their condition." It was but "an arrogant and presumptuous arraignment of the ways of Providence . . . for feeble man to declare, that that which has been permitted to exist and prosper from the beginning, among men and nations, is contrary to its will."⁶⁹

It seems clear, also, that Bell was uncertain as to the course he should follow. He repudiated the plan he had offered because it did not correctly present his views. Once he had been willing to compromise his opinions in the interest of settlement. But the committee rejected the heart of his plan. Now he questioned the desirability of making any settlement which would be only temporary. While speaking in favor of his plan, he had denounced the proposal to extend the Missouri Compromise line as being of no benefit to either side. That was when he had plans for carving two new slave states from Texas and leaving only that portion of New Mexico in which slavery would not likely exist. Now he suggested that should New Mexico not be admitted as a state the Missouri Compromise line should be extended so that the slaveholder might have a place where he could go with safety. But he was certain of one thing: he wished to see both California and New Mexico immediately admitted. In his opinion this action would bring to an end one important cause of agitation.

The position which Bell occupied, "apart from the acknowledged sagacity of his character and the comprehensiveness of his views," was sufficient to insure large audiences both on the floor of the Senate and in the gallery.⁷⁰ His audience shared his uncertainty. Frederick Seward observed: "John Bell's speech was able and scholarly, and intended to be impartial, but seemed not even to have satisfied himself. On the first day of its delivery, people in the galleries said, 'Bell is for it.' On the second day they said, 'Bell will vote against it.' On the third that he 'cannot make up his mind'."⁷¹ All must have realized, however, that

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1106 (July 6, 1850).

⁷⁰ *United States Gazette*, quoted in *Memphis Daily Eagle*, July 25, 1850.

⁷¹ Seward, *Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and Diplomat*, 80.

the compromise was receiving some hard blows from an administration man. After listening to the first three hours of the speech, the Washington correspondent of the *Charleston Courier* reported that the prospects for compromise grew worse and worse.⁷²

The friends of the administration were highly pleased with Bell's defense of the President's plan, even though many did not approve of the suggested extension of the Missouri Compromise line. Men like Bell were "perceptibly decreasing in the public councils," declared the *Philadelphia North American*. He was the leader among "a few who examine great measures, not for their momentary effect, but for their future influence upon the country." Among our public men, there were none who enjoyed "a higher reputation for integrity of purpose; for zeal in the cause which he espouses; for fidelity to his friends; for disinterestedness; for sound national opinion and for devoted patriotism."⁷³ The *United States Gazette* thought that Bell's speech "increased his already well-established reputation." The courage and dignity which characterized his manner, even in the face of opposition from a "combination of talents," insured him the "respect of all parties, and the gratitude and confidence of the Whigs."⁷⁴ The editor should have said the administration Whigs.

A group of Bell's associates insisted that he present a substitute for the compromise proposed by the committee. If such a substitute provided for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line and if the South could be lined up in its support, there would be some hope of success. Might not Bell's loyalty to the administration and his hostility toward Clay be sufficient to win Taylor's approval?⁷⁵ Those who reasoned thus must not have known of the extent to which William H. Seward was influencing President Taylor. There is no proof that Bell seriously considered offering such a substitute proposal, but if he did he abandoned the plan upon the death of the President on July 9.

⁷² *Charleston Courier*, July 4, 1850, quoted in *Knoxville Register*, July 20, 1850.

⁷³ Quoted in *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 18, 1850.

⁷⁴ Quoted in *Memphis Daily Eagle*, July 25, 1850.

⁷⁵ *Charleston Courier*, July 7, 1850, quoted in *Knoxville Register*, July 20, 1850.

The death of President Taylor removed the greatest barrier in the way of compromise. Millard Fillmore, the new president, was a political enemy of Seward and opposed most of the things for which he stood. This fact alone was probably sufficient to bring about an abandonment of the position taken by Taylor. There was increasing evidence, however, that the "omnibus" character of the bill which had been designed to carry the principal part of the committee's plan into effect would result in its defeat in the Senate. The combined strength of those groups which opposed the bill for different reasons was too much for the best efforts of Henry Clay. On July 31 the provisions were stricken from the bill one by one. Clay, broken in strength and spirits, departed for Newport to recuperate, and Douglas assumed the leadership.⁷⁶ Commenting on the senatorial reaction to the defeat of the omnibus bill, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Express* thought Bell to be "half-sorry, but two-thirds glad." But "there sat Old Hal [Clay], as melancholy as Caius Marius over the ruins of Carthage."⁷⁷

The provisions of the omnibus bill were reintroduced as separate bills and passed. Bell voted in favor of the admission of California and for the proposed settlement of the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute. He cast no vote at all on the bill establishing a territorial government for New Mexico. No division was recorded on the passage of the fugitive slave bill, but Bell voted in favor of passing it to a third reading.⁷⁸ A feeling of helplessness and the fact that the Whigs of his home state were holding numerous mass meetings in favor of the compromise assisted Bell in making up his mind to vote for these bills.⁷⁹

The last of the compromise bills to be acted upon was the proposal to abolish the slave trade within the District of Columbia. Bell did not agree with the "many distinguished and eminent" men who insisted

⁷⁶ George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston, 1934), 72.

⁷⁷ *New York Express*, August 2, 1850.

⁷⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 1555 (August 9, 1850), 1573 (August 13, 1850), 1588 (August 15, 1850), 1660 (August 26, 1850).

⁷⁹ *Nashville Daily Gazette*, June 2, 1850.

that Congress did not possess the power to regulate slavery within the District. According to his interpretation of the Constitution, Congress had the same power over the subject within the District that the states had within their borders, but when he considered the probable effect upon the adjoining slave states, he had grave doubts as to the advisability of the exercise of this power. A power might be ever so clear and "yet the exercise of it very unjust and oppressive, and very mischievous too."

If it would put an end to abolitionist agitation Bell would favor abolishing slavery within the District. He could see little prospect of this, however, since Senator Chase had already served notice that there was more to be expected on the slavery question. What was the limit to which the North intended to go? Could the South "ever expect repose from these agitations?" Had it not been for "ill-judged agitation" and the "officious intervention of northern fanatics" the more offensive features of the institution would long ago have been ameliorated. Attacks by abolitionists had made new restraints upon slaves imperative.

The only way to end the agitation once and for all, Bell concluded, was to abolish slavery within the District and remove from it all people of color. If slaves should be freed and allowed to remain within the District it "would soon come to pass that Congress itself would not find it convenient, if safe even, to sit here beset and surrounded by an overgrown population of colored inhabitants—degraded in caste, and for the most part idle, vicious, and mischievous—desperate paupers, sustained by the sympathy of one section and exasperated by the opposition of the other."⁸⁰

At one time during his remarks Bell stated that in "deference to the sensibilities of our northern friends" he would vote for the bill. But before the vote was taken he had changed his mind. When the bill was called up for final reading on September 16, Bell joined with eighteen other southern senators in voting in the negative.⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 1668-69 (September 14, 1850).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 1830 (September 16, 1850).

Many Tennessee Whigs had not appreciated the position taken by their senator on the question of the compromise. As the session of Congress drew to a close and Bell prepared to return to his home, he felt the need of an explanation of his conduct. Half in defense of his actions and half as a warning of dangers to come, he addressed an open letter to the citizens of Tennessee: "The crisis is not past; nor can perfect harmony be restored to the country until the North shall cease to vex the South upon the subject of slavery; and that can never be, while the animating principle of party organization and cohesion continues without change or modification." The country is ever in danger when excess party spirit and ambition bring about a loss of dignity and "degenerate into factions." This "danger becomes imminent and extreme when sectional interests—sectional jealousies, inflamed by a diversity of social relations—become elements of political strife I am no ultraist, and favor no extreme measures. A spirit of conciliation and forbearance is demanded by patriotism and the exigencies of the times, as well on the part of the South, as on that of the North; but there is a difference between a policy dictated by a spirit of forbearance, and *quietism*, which may seem to approve, and would, inevitably, invite aggression."⁸²

⁸² Memphis *Eagle*, September 27, 1850.

George Whitefield's Georgia Controversies

BY ALFRED O. ALDRIDGE

In the eighteenth century, an age of polemic and controversy, few careers were more stormy and disputatious than that of the Georgia "saint and man of God," George Whitefield. During the course of his many controversies, he was accused of being an uncharitable and slanderous man, a defender of rum and slavery, a follower of dreams and visions, a religious racketeer, a deluder of the people, and an inveterate gambler for high stakes. It was also hinted that the first orphanage in America, which he established in Savannah, was peopled with his own natural children, said to be the fruit of an illicit union with the niece of the famous Indian chief, Tomo Chichi. The attacks upon Whitefield ranged from scurrilous pamphlets hawked through the streets of London to an austere pronouncement of the president and faculty of Harvard College. These attacks included refutations of his doctrines, slanderous statements on his personal life and character, and assaults on his preaching methods and professional ethics. The allegations concerning the clientele of the orphan house are demonstrably false; those concerning gambling and censoriousness have a basis of truth, depending on interpretation; and some of the most surprising, such as those about the defense of rum and slavery, are actually true.

Some of the attacks would have been provoked merely by Whitefield's identification with Methodism, but many of them were directly occasioned by his residence in Georgia. Two dominant purposes motivated his life there: his missionary goal to save souls and spread the Gospel, and his charitable goal to nurture Bethesda Orphanage, which he established in 1738. The orphan problem was acute in Georgia because of the high mortality rate. By his assuming responsibility for the

care of these orphans, Whitefield thereby became the founder of the first orphanage in America to endure. Although his soul-saving purpose alone would undoubtedly have led him into doctrinal disputes, these disputes were intensified when they were combined with his fund-gathering activities for his orphan's home. These forced him to broaden his field of activities to such a degree that his dynamic personality was known over a wide area in both England and America. In both places, opposition to this missionary activity was based on his doctrine, his evangelical enthusiasm, his itinerant preaching, and his gathering of funds.

In the eighteenth century, both in England and in the colonies, the small sect within the Established Church known as Methodists was regarded as a group of fanatics and bigots. Their austere moral standards, their talk of communion with the Spirit of God, and their casting aside of tradition and ritual aroused the suspicion of the populace and led to general abuse and ridicule. Much of the ill will and malice toward the Methodists came from professing Christians whose moral standards were deficient and who felt uncomfortable under Whitefield's doctrines, the least popular of which were those concerning original sin, imputed righteousness, and the "election and final perseverance of those that are truly in Christ."¹ The last of these doctrines led even to a decided coolness between Whitefield and the Wesleys.²

As much a controversial issue among Whitefield's opponents as doctrine was the form of worship. Objection to the enthusiasm and evangelistic fervor of Whitefield's religious meetings was expressed with feeling in the following account of the manner in which services were conducted at Yale College by preachers of Whitefield's making:

They observed no stated Method, but proceeded as their present Thought or Fancy led them: And by this means the Meeting-house would be filled with

¹ *A Select Collection of Letters of the late Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. . . . From the Year 1734 to 1770 . . . With an Account of the Orphan-House in Georgia*, 2 vols. (London, 1771), I, 156.

² In a letter to James Habersham (March 25, 1741) Whitefield wrote: "I am now constrained, on account of our differing in principles, publicly to separate from my dear, dear old friends Messrs. J—— and C—— W——y, whom I still love as my own soul." *Ibid.*, I, 257.

what I could not but judge great Confusion and Disorder; for the whole House would many times seem to be in a perfect Hub-bub, and people filled with Consternation. These meetings they would continue till 10, 11, 12 o'Clock at Night; in the midst of them sometimes 10, 20, 30, and sometimes many more would *scream and cry out*, or send forth the most *lamentable Groans*, whilst others made great Manifestations of Joy, by *clapping their Hands*, uttering *extatick Expressions*, *singing Psalms*, and *inviting and exhorting* others.³

Such scenes, typical of Whitefield's ministry, were shocking to conservative observers whose emotions were not stirred by his preaching.

Whitefield's doctrine and enthusiasm would have aroused comparatively little opposition had he remained in Savannah, but he traveled the length and breadth of the colonies at a time when itinerant preachers were anathema to the incumbent ministers. In colonial times, the parish minister was the intellectual leader of society and was considered to be an infallible authority on matters of doctrine. The fact that ministers of the various parishes differed on matters of interpretation made no difference so long as each minister confined his activities to his own parish, for then there was no danger to clerical prestige through the clash of conflicting opinions. This security was threatened, however, by the itinerant preacher. He might have no conscious intention of disputing the authority of the regular parish minister, but it proved to be practically impossible for two expounders to think alike on all aspects of the Scriptures. The itinerant preacher inevitably aroused questioning, bewilderment, and confusion; and the parishioners, after they had been confronted with new interpretations, were no longer able to rely implicitly upon their own minister and to rest comfortably in their spiritual complacency. It was Whitefield's unfortunate fate to be one of the earliest and most powerful of these encroaching preachers and thus to have the wrath of the conservative clergy called down upon his shoulders.

Even this aspect of his preaching, however, did not provoke so much opposition as the gathering of funds to support his Georgia philanthropy. No doubt itinerant preaching was already in his blood, but

* "A Letter from a Gentleman in Boston to Mr. George Wishart . . . Concerning the State of Religion in New England" (Edinburgh, 1742), reprinted in *The Clarendon Historical Society's Reprints* (Edinburgh, 1882-1884), Series I, 78-79.

the financial needs of Bethesda made it imperative for him to embark on his long and incessant preaching tours.⁴ In 1739 he made his second voyage to Georgia, armed with funds for beginning work on the orphanage, but his enthusiasm was dampened by the poverty of the people. "It was a melancholy thing to see the colony of Georgia reduced even to a much lower state than when I left it, and almost deserted by all except those who could not well go away."⁵ Whitefield realized that something must be done about these deplorable conditions and hoped that his orphanage could be made the instrument of alleviation. He dreamed that not only should it care for unfortunate children, but that it should also be the means of restoring the pride and self-respect of the hapless adult inhabitants of the colony. He made haste, therefore, in the construction of the orphanage, motivated by both his original charitable purpose and his desire to support the indigent population. He employed 150 workmen and retainers and became a private W.P.A. for the colony. The funds, however, were not dispensed by a liberal political office, but had to be raised entirely by Whitefield's own efforts. By January, 1740, he was caring for more than twenty children, and by April the number had grown to forty; later in the year the entire household moved from Savannah to Bethesda, which became the permanent site of the orphanage. The situation in March, 1741, is vividly described in Whitefield's own words:

It has been a trying time with me. A large orphan family, consisting of near a hundred to be maintained, about four thousand miles off, without the least fund, and in the dearest part of his Majesty's dominions; also, above a thousand pounds in debt for them, and not worth twenty pounds in the world of my own, and threatened to be arrested for three hundred and fifty pounds, drawn for in favour of the Orphan house, by my late dear deceased friend and fellow-traveller Mr. S———. ⁶

The maintaining of the orphanage was a herculean task, which made Whitefield's extensive travels and field-work a necessity. He was con-

⁴ On March 26, 1740, Whitefield wrote to Mr. W——: "Shortly I shall go northward, to preach the gospel and collect fresh contributions for my orphans." *Letters*, I, 157.

⁵ Daniel Newell, *The Life of Rev. George Whitefield* (New York, 1846), 40.

⁶ *Letters*, I, 256. The letter is from Whitefield to James Habersham, manager of the orphanage, March 25, 1741.

stantly successful in raising funds, but not without engendering a good deal of ill feeling toward himself on the part of both the clergy and non-churchmembers in many of the communities he visited. The clergy felt that money was needed to care for the spiritual welfare of their own communities, and the non-churchmembers looked askance at the administration of large sums of money by a fanatical Methodist. Graft and personal profit were hinted at by some of the clergymen and were openly charged by others of Whitefield's detractors.

Besides the orphanage, there were other interests and activities of Whitefield's in Georgia which gave rise to caustic comment and made him appear in an unfavorable light. In relation to the moral austerity of Whitefield's life and ministry, it is difficult to picture him as an advocate of rum and slavery. Yet on his first visit to Georgia he sympathized with the colonists, who had been denied by the trustees the use of both rum and slaves, and he stated that the colony must of necessity remain feeble as long as these helps were denied. Both served to lighten the burden imposed on the colonists by the climate and frontier conditions. After much agitation by the colonists, to which Whitefield lent his support, the subject was reconsidered by the trustees, and in 1742, "the use of rum was granted but the use of slaves denied."⁷

Whitefield's opinions concerning rum and slavery, however, drew the invective of conventional minds much less than did a method of public confession which he drew up in 1739. It was designed for the use of women, and in it Whitefield had outlined the procedure in prayer, testimony, and public confession which should be observed. The moral consequences of women confessing their sins in public was regarded as especially objectionable by Whitefield's critics, and this phase of his ministry was sharply rebuked in a London pamphlet shortly after he returned from his first visit to Georgia.⁸

Still more widely criticized by orthodox worshippers was the practice followed by Whitefield and other Methodists of sortilege, or the cast-

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 404. Whitefield gave this report in a letter to Habersham, July 7, 1742.

⁸ Impartial Hand, *Life & Particular Proceedings of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield* (London, 1739), 90.

ing of lots to ascertain the will of God. Unfriendly critics alluded to it as gambling for high stakes in a religious lottery. Whitefield was not as much addicted to this practice as were some of the other Methodists, but he nevertheless gave his sanction, saying: "I am no friend to casting lots; but I believe on extraordinary occasions, when things can be determined in no other way, God if appealed to and waited on by prayer and fasting, will answer now as well as formerly."⁹

Others of Whitefield's contemporaries, however, had a less assured interpretation of sortilege. It was generally condemned as part of the trumpery of religious enthusiasm, if not regarded as a serious evil. One pamphlet called forth by Whitefield's return from Georgia and his appeals for funds (the same which criticized the method of public confession) had the following caustic comment: "Ace of Hearts, Pharaoh, and Hazard, are indeed forbidden them; but they may turn Methodists, set up a religious Lottery, and play for what Sums they please, provided it be with inspired Box and Dice, or supernatural Cards." Continuing in the same spirit, the writer linked Whitefield's orphanage with large scale gambling, charging that: "The new Apostles have collected, without Letters Patents, License, or Protestation, larger sums, than usually appeared upon any Gaming Table now put down, and yet have incurred no Penalty by it And if this Fund be employed for the Purpose given out, the Orphans House is like to exceed all the Palaces in Europe."¹⁰ Further to show the significance of this and other attacks upon Whitefield, it is necessary to describe his Georgia activities in chronological order.

Whitefield embarked for Georgia only two years after his ordination as a deacon and three years after his conversion. Although he was a regular member of the Anglican clergy, he was sent to Georgia by the trustees of the colony and not by the church. When he arrived in Savannah for the first time, on Sunday, May 7, 1738, he was given an enthusiastic reception, according to his own account. He joined in prayer with Charles Delamotte, who had been Wesley's mainstay in the

⁹ James P. Gledstone, *Life and Travels of George Whitefield* (London, 1871), 74.

¹⁰ *Life & Particular Proceedings*, 83.

colony, and some other pious souls who rejoiced at his arrival.¹¹ He became ill during his first week as an aftermath of the strenuous sea voyage, but he was nevertheless able to make the acquaintance of the people. He had actually been sent to Frederica on St. Simons Island, but as he found no other authorized clergyman at Savannah, he decided to make the latter his headquarters. There he attempted to convert the famous Indian chief, Tomo Chichi, but he met with no success.

A colony of two hundred people, the estimated population of Georgia in 1738, gave little scope for the exercise of Whitefield's powers of oratory, and perhaps this is one of the reasons for the shifting of his early endeavors to the orphan house. In spite of his occupation with Bethesda, however, he was conscientious in the carrying out of his pastoral duties—too conscientious, according to a contemporary critic: "He continued constantly praying and preaching to the People, and was very much followed from Place to Place by 'em, even so much, that the Heads of 'em thought the People lost too much Time in following him, which occasioned great Murmurings; but that did not prevent his preaching as before, all the Time he staid there."¹² Whitefield's version agrees in fact, if not in spirit, with this account. On the day of his departure from Savannah (Monday, August 28, 1738), he wrote in his Journal: "I have great hopes some good will come out of Savannah, because the longer I continued there, the larger the congregations grew; and I scarce knew a night, though we had divine services twice a day, when the church-house has not been near full."¹³ His wranglings, however, were not long in beginning.

The leading citizens of the colony were staunch members of the Church of England. Although Whitefield, along with the other Methodists, disclaimed intentions of leaving the fold, he was a far less militant upholder of the Anglican tradition than was the ruling class of Georgia. From the moment of his arrival until his death, Whitefield had to contend with the opposition of these conservative leaders. Chief

¹¹ George Whitefield, *Journal of a Voyage from London to Savannah in Georgia* (London, 1830), 81.

¹² *Life & Proceedings*, 4.

¹³ Whitefield, *Journal*, 93.

among the ruling class was William Stephens, who later served as president of the colony, an ardent high-churchman and, consequently, a foe of the evangelical enthusiasm of Whitefield. The Calvinistic doctrines and the informal procedure of Whitefield immediately aroused Stephens' extreme displeasure. As an advocate of works, Stephens was especially opposed to Whitefield's views concerning justification by faith and railed against him because "he could not shut up without a touch on his darling Topick of Regeneration," insisting that "the way to attain this, is by strong Faith, without regard to good works."¹⁴

Although Whitefield's social service activities helped preserve his popularity, he encountered immediate opposition because of his inflexibility in the conduct of his regular duties. One of his Savannah parishioners differed on the doctrine of the "eternity of hell torments," holding that sinners were merely snuffed out after death instead of made to endure eternal torment. Whitefield combated this heresy by denying the offender the Lord's Supper. The great furor which this incident caused led Whitefield to preach on the subject, and the majority of his flock requested that he have the sermon published.¹⁵ He later showed his obduracy by refusing to read the burial service over the grave of a heretic on the grounds that to do so would be a mockery.¹⁶

Although Whitefield had been appointed as minister to Frederica, he remained in Savannah, waiting for John Wesley's successor to arrive. Wesley, who had been sent to Savannah, had stayed in Georgia only a few months because of a dispute with the trustees over whether his call was to Christianize the Indians or to minister to the needs of the colonists. On July 12, 1738, William Norris was appointed minister to Savannah, and Whitefield returned to England in August of the same year. Norris later proved to be a real thorn in Whitefield's flesh.

On December 12, 1738, Norris wrote from Savannah to the trustees that church affairs had been badly conducted by Wesley first, and more

¹⁴ Allen D. Candler (ed.), *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 24 vols. (Atlanta, 1904-1915), IV (Supplement), 219.

¹⁵ Gledstone, *Life and Travels*, 93. This incident is preserved in Whitefield's *Journal* (page 85), but without mention of the sermon.

¹⁶ *Journal*, 92.

lately by Whitefield. He charged that numbers whom neither the Gospel nor the constitution of the Church rejected, had been excluded from the Communion; that entire sections of the common prayer were abridged or omitted; that the hours of public worship were unseasonable and unreasonable; "that the judaizing spiritual pride of the late pastors gave great offence to the consciences and affections of many people; and that a separate nightly assembly met at the minister's house which was distinguished by the name faithful, but was composed of members who contributed neither to the credit of religion nor society, and who observed particular forms of worship, such as public confession, penance and absolution."¹⁷

Whitefield's first period of residence in Georgia was brief, but he returned to England in a joyful frame of mind. He had been happy in his Georgia ministry and regarded his return to England as only temporary, having promised his flock "solemnly before God to return as soon as possible."¹⁸ He felt that his absence was actually for the welfare of the colony since he was returning to receive priest's orders and to raise funds for the orphanage. In December, 1738, the trustees of the colony formally appointed him minister of Savannah, and he was glad to accept.¹⁹ That he felt called to other duties than those of a parish priest and that he had no intention of limiting his proselytizing to the colony of Georgia, however, is shown by a letter written on November 10, 1739, less than a year after his appointment, in which he said: "I intend resigning the parsonage of Savannah. The *Orphan House* I can take care of, supposing I should be kept at a distance; besides when I have resigned the parish, I shall be more at liberty to take a tour round America, if God should ever call me to such a work."²⁰

Much of Whitefield's effort during his short stay in England had been expended in gathering funds for the orphanage, and he succeeded in collecting over £1000. When he embarked for his return to Georgia,

¹⁷ Candler (ed.), *Colonial Records of Georgia*, V, 76-77.

¹⁸ *Journal*, 92.

¹⁹ *Letters*, I, 46. The letter is addressed to Mr. H——.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 109. The letter is addressed to Wm. D——.

however, he felt that he needed still more funds.²¹ He did not sail directly for Savannah, therefore, but visited the northern colonies first, in order to acquaint them with the financial needs of the orphanage. He landed in Philadelphia and immediately launched a campaign for funds. Here occurred the famous episode of the change in heart of Benjamin Franklin, who went to hear Whitefield determined not to contribute a single copper but who was so moved by Whitefield's oratory that he finally dumped the entire contents of his pockets, including silver and gold, on the collection plate.²²

After touring through the greater part of the northern colonies, where he was welcomed by Presbyterians and the morally austere and persecuted by the Anglicans and the upholders of traditionalism, Whitefield returned in the winter to his home and orphan family in Georgia. He reached Savannah in January, 1740, and received his first glimpse of Bethesda. The general state of affairs in Georgia, however, led him to express extreme dissatisfaction. On January 17, 1740, he wrote a letter of complaint to the trustees, charging that no candles were being provided for the church services and threatening that if the "affairs of Religion were not better regarded, he should be obliged to inform the world how little is to be seen for all the money good people had contributed."²³

Whitefield regarded Norris as responsible for the sad state of religion, and active altercation between the two men was not long in breaking out. The two ministers were continually at odds. On one occasion when Whitefield absented himself from Savannah for a week, Norris took charge of church affairs, protesting that he had received no notice of Whitefield's intended absence.²⁴ Whitefield, after his return, charged Norris with preaching false doctrine during his absence. He made no specific accusations beyond the general charge of unorthodoxy, but he criticized Norris' way of life and conversation, objecting to him on the

²¹ John Gillies, *Memoirs of Rev. George Whitefield* (Hartford, 1851), 42.

²² Albert Henry Smyth (ed.), *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 10 vols. (London, 1905-1907), I, 356.

²³ Candler (ed.), *Colonial Records of Georgia*, V, 290.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 514.

grounds that he "played on the Fiddle, and at cards with the Ladies, and kept polite Company."²⁵

The congregation also received tokens of his displeasure. One evening after his return to Savannah he reproached his "Audience with their Hardness of Heart, and little Mark which they shewed in Improvement of Grace." In May of the same year in a report to the trustees, a resident of the colony, Captain William Thompson, affirmed that Whitefield "had converted a few in Savannah to be Methodists . . . , but the great number dislike him and say he is much alter'd from what he was the time before he was there. That he himself heard him preach that no man can be saved who is not an Enthusiast."²⁶ In the next month William Seward, an official of the colony, reported to the trustees that in Savannah "Whitefield feared nobody," and had freely rebuked his flock "for what he found them faulty in. . . . He had forbid Mr. Norris the Sacrement, for playing at cards, when he should be going about his duty."²⁷

On June 7, 1740, Whitefield wrote from Savannah: "I am now looking for fresh attacks from the enemy, after such inroads. He has been busy since my departure, but the Lord hath vouchsafed to rebuke and disappoint him."²⁸ The anticipated attacks were not long in coming, and the enemy appeared in the guise of a former friend. Within the fortnight, Whitefield went to Charleston and on his first Sunday there attended the service of his friend, Alexander Garden, the commissary of Charleston. Because of the furor just created among orthodox circles in New York and Philadelphia by the fervent preaching of Whitefield, the commissary had changed almost overnight from a cordial friend to a bitter foe. Seeing Whitefield among the congregation, he deliberately preached a condemnatory sermon against Methodists and Methodism. After such an exhibition of virulence, Whitefield and many others of the congregation refused to take communion. Needless to say, the commissary's pulpit was no longer open to Whitefield, and he was forced

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 528.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 343.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 377.

²⁸ Whitefield, *Letters*, I, 185.

to preach in the Independent meeting-house. This enraged Garden. He charged Whitefield with flouting his authority and ordered him to appear before some of his clergy for neglecting to read from the book of common prayer in his meetings. William Stephens no doubt rejoiced when he received, "various Reports of the Opposition he met with from Mr. Garden, Minister at Charlestown, who (it is said) by virtue of a Power from the Bishop, cited him to appear, and answer for many Doctrines which he preached that were not orthodox, and also for his irregular Proceedings, which gave so great Disturbances to the public Peace, as well as Divisions among Families."²⁹ Garden's charges led to litigation in open court. Here Whitefield defended himself by arguing that he was the regularly appointed pastor of Savannah and that since he was from another province Garden could have no jurisdiction over him. For further support he wrote to Edmund Lord, Bishop of London, asking the question: "Whether the commissary of *South Carolina* has power given him from your Lordship, to exercise any *judicial authority* against me, or any clergyman, who doth not belong to his province?"³⁰ This litigation ushered in Whitefield's most stormy period of disputation.

Whitefield could not help feeling that the cause of the orphanage was not being helped by the unpleasant litigation and dissent which characterized his visit to Charleston. He decided, therefore, to accept the numerous invitations which had been extended for him to visit the New England states. His reception there was more cordial than the one previously given him in Charleston. His services were attended by large crowds and generous collections were taken wherever he spoke.³¹ One week he sent to the orphanage, £100 sterling, and he expected to send the same on the next week from New York.³² There were some, however, who were not so receptive of Whitefield's preaching. Writing two years after the event, the period when Whitefield was "received as though he had been an Angel of God," a Bostonian warned a minister

²⁹ Candler (ed.), *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV, 628.

³⁰ Whitefield, *Letters*, I, 206.

³¹ Gledstone, *Life and Travels*, 229.

³² Whitefield, *Letters*, I, 218.

in Edinburgh against the enthusiastic excesses which, he alleged, accompanied Whitefield's preaching. His estimate of the results of Whitefield's efforts was far from complimentary.

This, I am sure of, there was raised such a Spirit of bitter censorious, uncharitable judging, as was not known before; and is, wherever it reigns, a Scandal to all who call themselves Christians: Nor was it ever evident to me, but that the greatest Friends to Mr. *Whitefield* were as much puffed up with Conceit and Pride as any of their Neighbours; and as to some of them, and the more eminent too, I verily believe they possess a *worse Spirit* than before they heard of his Name, and it had been as well for them if they had never seen his Face.³³

Whitefield's northern tour did nothing to bring his views into closer accord with those of William Stephens, for on his return to Savannah, Stephens continued to be shocked by his utterances. "The Service of the Day was performed again by Mr. Whitefield, who since his Return this Time thought fit to make Use of the Surplice again, that has for some time before been laid aside by him. The main Drift of his Sermons, Morning and Afternoon, was to maintain the Doctrine of a peculiar election, of such as were predestinated to be saved, condemning utterly a universal Redemption by Christ's Blood; which terrible Doctrine was shocking to all such as feel a sincere Repentance, and true faith in Christ, hoped for Salvation thro' His Mediation."³⁴

In January, 1741, Whitefield returned to Charleston to embark again for England. He found that in Charleston the past was by no means forgotten and that the authorities were unwilling to forget their differences. He was served with a writ accusing him of writing a libelous letter, "making and composing a false, malicious, scandalous, and infamous libel against the clergy."³⁵ Because of this move on the part of the clergy, Whitefield was forced to leave £100 bond for appearance at the next session. William Stephens' Charleston correspondents kept active, for he soon received a letter telling the details. "A printed Letter, which one Hugh Bryan (a zealous Methodist) had lately pub-

³³ "A Letter from a Gentleman in Boston to Mr. George Wishart . . .," *The Clarendon Historical Society's Reprints*, Series I, 75.

³⁴ Candler (ed.), *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV (Supplement), 58.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, IV (Supplement), 75.

lished inscribed to a Friend, was looked on by the Chief Justice as a scandalous Libel on the Clergy; for which he caused the Author, and his Reverence Mr. Whitefield the Corrector, to be apprehended and bound over to their Sessions."³⁶

When Whitefield returned to America again in 1744, a storm of protest and denunciation greeted him, but by this time he was accustomed to the suspicion and disfavor of the populace. Although New England was the stronghold of the anti-Whitefield pamphleteers, even his own colony of Georgia gave him little cause for rejoicing at this time. Soon after returning there he wrote in his Journal: "At Georgia through the badness of the institution, and the trustees' obstinacy in not altering it, my load of debt and care was greatly increased, and, at times, almost overwhelmed me. But I had the pleasure of seeing one, who came as a player from New York, now converted unto God, and a preacher of Jesus Christ."³⁷

In this year, 1744, opposition to Whitefield in America reached its peak. Dr. Charles Chauncy published his book, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England*, in which he severely castigated Whitefield, his ministry, and his orphanage, in spite of the fact that the orphanage was located far away in Georgia and that Whitefield had been regularly inducted into the parish of Savannah. In the following year, the president and the faculty of Harvard College issued a similar protest against Whitefield's activities. Both of these protests were couched in stronger language than had been used in the earlier report on the state of religion in New England. Dr. Chauncy's book contained nearly all the objections to Whitefield's preaching which were indigenous to America. The English attacks, which opposed Whitefield's Calvinism and moral austerity, differed from the American, which condoned his Calvinism and moral standards but objected to his methods. Although some phases of the American attacks were directed at Whitefield's methods independently of their relation to the Georgia situation, the gathering of funds for the orphanage was one of the main causes of grievance. The orphanage also

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Gillies, *Memoirs of George Whitefield*, 107.

contributed to Whitefield's decision to engage in itinerant preaching. This phase of his ministry led to one of Dr. Chauncy's most personally intense criticisms. He wrote: "I could never see, I own, upon what Warrant, either from Scripture or Reason, He went about preaching from one Province and Parish to another, where the Gospel was already preached, and by Persons as well qualified for the Work, as He can pretend to be Might he not, at first take up this Practice from a mistaken Thought of some extraordinary Mission from God? Or from the undue Influence of too high an Opinion of his own Gifts and Graces?"³⁸

Whitefield's reply to all the charges in Dr. Chauncy's book was printed in pamphlet form under the title: *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Chauncy on Account of Some Passages Relating to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield in His Book intituled "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England."*³⁹ In this reply Whitefield defended his itinerant preaching against the aspersions of Dr. Chauncy by simply stating that everywhere he preached, he did so by invitation. The simplicity and humility of Whitefield's reply shows by contrast the superficial and carping nature of Dr. Chauncy's criticisms. In this vein Dr. Chauncy asked: "Why [was Whitefield] so fond of preaching always himself, to the exclusion not of his Brethren only, but his Fathers, in Grace and Gifts and Learning, as well as Age? And why so ostentatious and assuming as to alarm many Towns, by proclaiming his Intentions on the publick Prints to preach such a day in such a Parish, the next day in such a one, and so on, as he past through the Country."⁴⁰ To answer this gave Whitefield little difficulty. He replied that he preached in pulpits only when urged by the ministers to do so and often sat as an auditor to hear the words of his brethren and fathers. The advertising was done on the advice of the brethren and fathers themselves "to inform the many who either out of Curiosity or some other Principle, were desirous to hear me."⁴¹

³⁸ *Seasonable Thoughts*, 36.

³⁹ (Boston, 1745).

⁴⁰ Chauncy, *Seasonable Thoughts*, 36.

⁴¹ Whitefield, *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Chauncy*, 4.

Chauncy tried to make capital of Whitefield's relations to the colony of Georgia by referring to Whitefield's numerous absences and asking, "And what became of his little Flock all the while?" Whitefield answered by giving a long description of his purpose and activities in Georgia and expressing the wish that "every Non-resident Minister could give as good an Account of their Non-residence as I of my Absence from Savannah."⁴² Referring to his first period in Georgia, he went on to say that he preached, taught publicly, and catechised the children during his entire stay in Savannah except for a fortnight when he went to Frederica to establish a church. After four months he returned to England to receive priest's orders and to collect money for an orphanage, remaining there only long enough to gather the necessary funds. When he finally returned to Savannah, most of his parishioners were in debt and unemployed; so he turned the orphanage into a public relief project. "I always came Home furnished with Provisions and Money, most of which was expended among the people, and by this means the northern Part of the Colony almost entirely subsisted for a considerable time When I was absent from my Parishioners I was not loitering or living at Ease, but preaching Jesus Christ, and begging for them and theirs."⁴³

Chauncy looked with suspicion on Whitefield's large collections, remarking: "And some are in the Opinion, it hasn't been to Mr. Whitefield's Disadvantage, on Temporal Accounts, that he has traveled about the World in Quality of an Itinerant Preacher. He has certainly made large Collections; And if, in the doing of this, he had a Fellow-feeling with the Orphans, 'tis no more than might be expected. No one, I believe besides himself, can tell the Amount of the Presents he received in this Town as well as in the other Places for his own proper Use." Whitefield retorted that he had given public and fair account of all his expenditures and that his career had certainly not promoted his temporal welfare.

Very similar to Chauncy's attack was the testimony against White-

⁴² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 6.

field issued by the president and faculty of Harvard. These gentlemen inveighed against "his Way of Preaching, as tending very much to the Detriment of Religion, and the entire Destruction of the Order of these Churches of Christ, which our Fathers have taken such Care and Pains to settle."⁴⁴ Among other things, they charged that Whitefield was "an Enthusiast, a censorious, uncharitable Person, and a Deluder of the People." They described an enthusiast as "one that acts, either according to Dreams, or some sudden Impulses and Impressions upon his Mind, which he fondly imagines to be from the Spirit of God, persuading and inclining him thereby to such and such actions, tho' he hath no Proof that such Persuasions or Impressions are from the Holy Spirit." To them, therefore, Whitefield appeared as an enthusiast because he was governed by dreams, took coincidences and chance occurrences as divine messages, and "sometimes he speaks as if he had Communications directly from the Spirit of God."⁴⁵

In his *Journal from Savannah to New England*, Whitefield had referred to Harvard and Yale in these terms: "Their Light is now become Darkness, Darkness that may be felt." The Harvard staff obviously felt obliged to repudiate the charge with counter-charges: "He is an uncharitable, censorious and slanderous Man; . . . he has been guilty of gross Breaches of the ninth Commandment, . . . all the Errors, Confusions and Quarrels that our Churches are now in, are owing to this censorious, most unchristian Carriage and Disposition. [His] Behaviour . . . is plainly and directly contrary to the moral Law, and all the Rules of Christianity."⁴⁶ The charge that Whitefield was a deluder of the people was based on the statement that the money which he collected was "almost extorted" and that he gave no satisfactory account of the disposition of those funds. To complete their testimony, the Harvard group voiced their objection to Whitefield's extempore and itinerant preaching. They asserted that extempore preaching is a

⁴⁴ *The Testimony of the President, Professors, Trustees, and Hebrew Instructor of Harvard College Against the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield and His Conduct* (Boston, 1744), 3.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

lazy method, which dispenses with the necessary study and meditation, and that itinerant preachers raise people to a high pitch, spread false doctrine, destroy the work of local ministers, and do not stay to face retractions.

Whitefield, however, was not awed by the prestige and authority of the Harvard faculty. Instead, he published a reply to their testimony, refuting each one of their accusations.⁴⁷ Concerning the enthusiast or dream charge, he replied that only a few such dreams are mentioned in his works and that he did not always act according to their direction. To defend himself against the charge of deluding the people, Whitefield asked how public contributions could possibly be extorted. He also asked the Harvard men whether they had ever published an account of the receipts and disbursements of Harvard similar to the one that they asked concerning Bethesda from him. While on the subject of the orphanage, he assured them that the men at its head were thorough Calvinists. He used the same line of defense to answer the charge that he himself was the cause of religious dissension. "I profess myself a Calvinist as to Principle, and preach no other Doctrines than those which your pious Ancestors and the Founders of Harvard College preached long before I was born."⁴⁸ To justify extempore preaching Whitefield asserted that he both studied and meditated before preaching, as those do who deliver prepared sermons. He merely did not refer to notes. If extempore prayer is justifiable, why not also extempore preaching and reasoning? To explain his itinerant preaching, Whitefield merely said that "Go ye into all the World and preach the Gospel to every creature even to the End of the world" included towns and counties anywhere in America "wherever Providence should open a Door."

The pamphlets attacking Whitefield on religious grounds form the highlights of the controversy occasioned by his residence in Georgia. Another group, however, consists of obscene satire on the orphan house

⁴⁷ *A Letter to the President and Professors of Harvard College in Answer to a Testimony Against Mr. George Whitefield and His Conduct* (Boston, 1745).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

and his other activities. These satirical observations, published in London, although extremely scurrilous, are the most amusing of the attacks on Whitefield. The London wits were greatly attracted by the subject of the orphanage and used it as the butt of many of their lampoons. One of the most ribald of these is entitled *The Expounder Expounded, or Annotations Upon That Incomparable Piece Intituled, "A Short Account of God's Dealings With the Rev. George Whitefield,"* which purports to be an exegesis or commentary on Whitefield's autobiographical work.⁴⁹ The author takes such passages as, "I at length fell into an abominable secret Sin, the dismal Effects of which I have felt, and groaned under ever since," and offers his own, usually obscene, interpretation. He handles the foregoing passage by speculating upon what the secret sin could be. After discarding adultery, beastiality, and sodomy, he goes on: "not to keep my Readers any longer in Suspence, I shall acquaint them that the abominable secret Sin, of which Mr. W———d was guilty, is the very same for which Heaven, taking Tamar's Part, destroyed the invidious and disappointing Onan. What this was my Male Readers will readily comprehend; nor will my Female ones, I imagine, be at any great Loss about it; especially such of them as have been blessed with a Boarding-School Education."⁵⁰

This passage is followed by a hint that Whitefield is contemplating marriage to a wealthy proselyte, and the writer suggests that the lady's estate be used to establish and maintain a hospital for the "methodical Invalids" among Whitefield's followers.⁵¹ Then, in the closing chapter of his book, the author expatiates as follows on the great service and benefit which his own works contribute to humanity:

As to the Charity which we shall be enabled to extend through the Profit of our Publications, that of Mr. W———d should seem to be the more general; since we are informed by his Printer, that he writes for the Benefit of many Orphans: Whereas I have transferred the advantage of this Piece, to only one Poor Relation of my own, who has a large Family. But if we shall consider

⁴⁹ By R ph J . . . ps . . . n (London, 1740).

⁵⁰ *Expounder Expounded*, 40.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

how much the putting forth of this my Treatise, will promote the Sale of my Authors', by the many curious or incredulous Readers, who may be desirous of examining and proving the one by the other; it may be said, that I also have written for the Benefit of the Orphan House, and truly, the Reason I just now mentioned, joined to another yet more cogent, put it beyond Dispute, that the poor children in Georgia will be as large Gainers by my Publications, as ever they were by those of Mr. W———d's.⁵²

A similar scurrilous attack on Whitefield appeared in 1769, in *The Town and Country Magazine*.⁵³ After casually mentioning Whitefield's first voyage to America, the anonymous author gives a more detailed account of his second. "After he had drained the purses of the bigots and fanatics in every part of the kingdom, he judged it prudent to pay another visit to America, having obtained very large sums for the relief of the New Colonists in Georgia." After landing there, he met the niece of Tomo Chichi, a maiden named Parrawankaw.

Her skin though swarthy, was remarkably smooth, except where ornamented with scars; her eyes were black and expressive; her lovely tresses carelessly wantoned down her neck and over her forehead, somewhat in the Vandyke stile; her bosom was decorated with two rows of beads in the form of a necklace; and the rest of her enchanting frame was covered with a loose attire formed of the finest blanket . . . The Doctor exerted all his rhetoric to convert the beautiful Parrawankaw, and when he thought he had accomplished this great design, he found, too sensibly found, he was himself a proselyte to her charms. Vanquished by her beauty he now enforced by example, what he had so often urged by precept; and it is evident the propagation of his doctrine, and the propagation of the species have been the ultimate ends of all his labours. Squintum did not remain long in America; he found from the prolific constitution of Parrawankaw, it would be necessary to make some provision for her offspring; and this suggested to him the first design of the

⁵² *Ibid.*, 76.

⁵³ It bore the title "Dr. Squintum and Parrawankaw," lampooning Whitefield under the appellation of Dr. Squintum. He had earlier been referred to as Dr. Squintum by Samuel Foote in his play *The Minor* (1760), probably because of a pronounced squint in his eyes which Whitefield had acquired during childhood. There is no mention of Georgia in *The Minor*, however, and the main plot has very little connection with either Whitefield or Methodism. Squintum does not appear on the stage, although he is several times mentioned by a despicable bawd, Mrs. Cole, as the outstanding exhorter of repentance and the new-birth. It is quite probable that Foote added the ridicule of Methodism as a means of attracting attention to his play, after it had been entirely finished in another form.

orphan-house at Georgia, where many of his natural children now are, with numbers of those of his teachers.⁵⁴

Apart from the scurrilous lampoons, written by facetious London wits, nearly all of the serious attacks upon Whitefield were directed against his itinerant preaching and his gathering of funds. The disputes over doctrine represented not so much direct attack as intellectual schism or the renouncing of association. Whitefield's differences with the Wesleys should be regarded in this light. The many personal misunderstandings caused by his intransigence, bluntness, and lack of tact also fell short of becoming hard-pressed controversies, although their repercussions were undoubtedly widespread.

The controversies inspired by more legitimate grievances were numerous. The privileged groups whose interests were adversely affected by Whitefield's money-gathering and soul-saving campaigns were vociferous in their protests. These protests were effective because the charges they contained were substantially true. Itinerant preaching was central to Whitefield's concept of his spiritual mission, and his call to spread his activities over as wide an area as possible was seldom out of his mind, as his letters and journals reveal. The taking of large collections was equally characteristic of Whitefield's interpretation of his mission. He felt that the saving of souls came first, but freely admitted that financing the orphanage was a definite part of his work. This he clearly expressed in one of his letters:

My great and professed design, is to bring poor sinners to Jesus Christ: but as my orphan family abroad is now large, and daily to be provided for, without the least visible fund, and I believe much glory will redound to God from that house; I think it my duty to speak to those, who I believe, for Christ's sake, are willing to help them.⁵⁵

Granted that the charges of Whitefield's detractors are basically true, whether the general effects of itinerant preaching and the gathering of funds were pernicious or salutary remains a matter of opinion.

⁵⁴ *The Town and Country Magazine* (London, 1769-1796), Supplement to the year 1769, p. 675.

⁵⁵ Whitefield, *Letters*, I, 325. To Mr. H—— in Edinburgh, October 5, 1741.

No doubt the ministers of fixed congregations were annoyed by the furor and commotion caused by Whitefield's preaching, particularly when he confuted their doctrine and rebuked their practices. The very nature of itinerant preaching tended to disrupt the community and the congregation. The none-too-prosperous clergy were also upset by the thought of unusually large offerings from their parishioners being carried away to a doubtful destination in Savannah. The brunt of the congregation's benevolent generosity was usually borne by the minister in the form of reduced donations for local needs, of which his own were perhaps the most acute.

In his own defense and in justification of itinerant preaching Whitefield frequently replied that his activities were intended to supplement rather than supplant the local ministers, and that everywhere he preached, he did so at their invitation. Furthermore, his services often brought a profound spiritual awakening which left a permanent seal upon the community. There is reason to believe, therefore, that harmony and good feeling prevailed during and after Whitefield's visits in small communities which contained only one church or doctrinal group and in which Whitefield preached upon the invitation of the incumbent minister. In larger communities, on the other hand, where several churches expounding conflicting doctrines were already antagonistic toward each other, Whitefield inevitably expanded the breach and heightened the discord.

The gathering of funds for Bethesda was probably Whitefield's most vulnerable spot. Citizens who might remain completely indifferent to the doctrinal and personal objections urged by their ministers could be aroused by rumors concerning large sums of money. Most of Whitefield's clerical opponents stopped short of directly accusing him of appropriating funds for his own use, but thinly-veiled references served the same purpose. Probably these rumors reached more ears than did Whitefield's replies that he had given public and fair account of all his expenditures. As a result, the world was entirely mistaken about Whitefield's financial circumstances. He was, as he explained in a letter to James Habersham, the supervisor of Bethesda (September 24,

1742): "worth nothing myself, embarrassed for others, and yet looked upon to flow in riches."⁵⁶

A writer in the *Georgia Gazette* commented on this phase of Whitefield's controversies soon after Whitefield's death. After referring to the great burden which Whitefield supported in the form of his benevolent institution, the writer continued: "He was at the same time maligned, traduced, and persecuted with unrelenting virulence, as a cheat, an impostor, and a public robber, who, under the specious pretence of promoting a charitable design, was amassing great wealth to himself."⁵⁷

The fact that the orphanage, which depended solely upon its founder for support, flourished among the destitute settlers of Georgia during the colony's most difficult years, coupled with the fact that Whitefield at his death left only a very moderate estate to his heirs, seems to show conclusively that Whitefield made a faithful rendering of every pound contributed for the benefit of the orphanage.⁵⁸ This conclusion is supported by the words of Benjamin Franklin, certainly no blind enthusiast, who wrote that his testimony in Whitefield's favor ought to have all the more weight, inasmuch as he and Whitefield had no religious connection. Franklin discountenanced the accusations of Whitefield's enemies that he would apply his collections to his own private emolument, and stated that from his intimate acquaintance with Whitefield, he was "decidedly of opinion that he was in all his conduct a perfectly

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 439.

⁵⁷ Gillies, *Memoirs of George Whitefield*, 275.

⁵⁸ Whitefield's will, which was sealed, signed, and delivered at the orphanage in Georgia, fully demonstrated that very little of the money which came his way remained in his possession. The will was published by Robert Keen, one of Whitefield's beneficiaries, with the following introduction: "As it was Mr. Whitefield's constant declaration, that he never meant to raise either a purse or a party, it is to be remarked, that almost the whole sum he died possessed of, came to him within two or three years of his death, in the following manner, viz. Mrs. Thomson, of Tower Hill, bequeathed him 500£; by the death of his wife (including a bond of 300£), he got 700£; Mr. Whitmore bequeathed him 100£, and Mr. Winder 100£. And it is highly probable, that had he lived to reach Georgia, from his last northern tour, he would have lessened the above sums, by disposing of them in the same noble and disinterested manner, in which all the public or private sums he was intrusted with, were bestowed." Gillies, *Memoirs of George Whitefield*, 289.

honest man."⁵⁹ No doubt, therefore, Whitefield was justified in the reply which, according to the *Georgia Gazette*, he made to the unmerited reproaches of his detractors, that "the great day would show his accusers their mistake."

Whitefield's Georgia controversies, although part of a broader controversy enveloping the entire eighteenth-century Methodist movement, give insight into some of the religious and social problems indigenous to colonial America. That he persisted in his Georgia endeavors in spite of the bitterness of these controversies is a tribute to the sincerity of his philanthropic and missionary zeal.

⁵⁹ Smyth (ed.), *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, I, 357.

Notes and Documents

SOME NOTES ON SLAVEOWNERSHIP AND LANDOWNERSHIP IN LOUISIANA, 1850-1860

BY HARRY L. COLES, JR.

Recent studies of the economic structure of ante-bellum society in various parts of the Old South have had the effect of shifting the emphasis from plantation life to the interests of the plain people of the region. As yet, however, only the states of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama have received intensive study;¹ and until other parts of the South have been given similar attention it will not be possible to generalize. These notes on the distribution of slaveownership and landownership in Louisiana during the decade before the Civil War may be of assistance, therefore, in establishing a broader basis for arriving at general conclusions for the region as a whole.

The delta region of Louisiana was one of the blackest portions of the southern black belt.² In 1860 the white population of Louisiana constituted only fifty per cent of the total population. In four of the delta parishes the slave population outnumbered the whites two to

¹ For studies of the agricultural population of Tennessee, see Blanche H. Clark, *The Tennessee Yeomen, 1840-1860* (Nashville, 1942); Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Structure of Rural Tennessee, 1850-1860," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), VIII (1942), 161-82; and Chase C. Mooney, "Some Institutional and Statistical Aspects of Slavery in Tennessee," in *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville, 1942-), I (1942), 195-228. For Mississippi, Herbert Weaver, "The Agricultural Population of Mississippi, 1850-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1941), is available only in manuscript form. Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," in *Journal of Southern History*, VI (1940), 24-45, deals with the situation in Alabama.

² Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Origin and Growth of Southern Black Belts," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), XI (1906), 798-816.

one; in four others, three to one; and in two, ten to one.³ Thus if the old planter-poor-white stereotype of southern society was ever correct we should expect it to be true of Louisiana. As a matter of fact, however, an analysis of the statistical data presented by the unpublished census returns shows that there was a very considerable middle class in ante-bellum Louisiana; that the ownership of land and slaves was widely distributed and was increasing; and that the sizes of both landholdings and slaveholdings were, on the whole, moderate.⁴

In studying Louisiana it was found impossible to make a statistical analysis of the entire agricultural population, therefore a sampling process was used. Eleven out of the forty-nine parishes of the state were chosen on the basis of geographical distribution, agricultural production, type of soil, and population, including proportion of slaves. Four of these parishes—Ascension, West Feliciana, Iberville, and Plaquemines—are in the Sugar Bowl. Two—Tensas and Catahoula—lie partly or wholly within the cotton producing, alluvial area of the northeastern part of the state. Claiborne Parish is located on the hilly, northern boundary in the oak uplands area. Sabine and Calcasieu parishes are located in the western part of the state and represent the central prairie and piney woods sections. Livingston and Washington parishes, in the eastern part of the state, represent the piney woods region.⁵

An analysis of the slaveholding status of heads of families in these sample Louisiana parishes reveals that nearly one-half (47 per cent)

³ *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Population* (Washington, 1864), 194.

⁴ This analysis of slaveholdings and landholdings in Louisiana is based upon the unpublished Federal census reports of 1850 and 1860. Use has been made of Schedule I, An Enumeration of Free Inhabitants; Schedule II, An Enumeration of Slave Inhabitants; and Schedule IV, Productions of Agriculture. Schedules I and II for both censuses are in The National Archives, Washington, D. C. Schedule IV for both censuses is in the Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina. The method of compiling the statistics is essentially the same as that described in Clark, *The Tennessee Yeomen*, xviii-xxi, and in Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," in *loc. cit.*, 29-30.

⁵ For a topographical description of Louisiana, see Eugene W. Hilgard, "Physico-Geographical and Agricultural Features of the State of Louisiana," in *Tenth Census of the United States; 1880*, 22 vols. (Washington, 1883-1885), V, 109-95.

of them owned slaves.⁶ A state-wide average, however, has very little meaning; sectional differences within the state were far more important. The highest percentage of slaveholders was found in Tensas Parish, where 93 per cent of the heads of families engaged in agriculture owned slaves, and where the relative number of slaveholders changed only a fraction of one per cent from 1850 to 1860. In Catahoula Parish, which was located partly within the alluvial area and which represented a diversified type of agricultural production, only 37 per cent of the agricultural heads of families owned slaves in 1860.

In the sugar producing parishes the percentage of slaveholders was also high. In Ascension Parish 47 per cent of the agricultural heads of families were slaveholders; in Iberville and West Feliciana parishes, 83 per cent; and in Plaquemines Parish, 52 per cent. In the Sugar Bowl as a whole, 18 per cent of the heads of families owned fifty or more slaves each.

An examination of the western parishes shows a pattern of slaveholding similar to that of the Upper South.⁷ Calcasieu Parish in the southwest corner of the state, on the Sabine River, had 39 per cent slaveholders in 1850. In Sabine Parish, which lies partly within the piney woods, the central prairie, and the oak uplands sections, 31 per cent of the agricultural heads of families were slaveholders in 1850. The only parish which showed an appreciable increase in the percentage of slaveholders between 1850 and 1860 was Claiborne, where the proportion of slaveholders increased from 36 per cent to 50 per cent.

The greatest contrast, however, between parishes producing mainly staple crops and those engaged in diversified agriculture was not in the number of slaveholders but in the size of the slaveholdings. This can be clearly seen from the following table.⁸

⁶ This figure is based only on the sample parishes studied. In working out the statistical basis of these notes punchcards were used for all heads of families engaged in agriculture, and these cards were analyzed by means of an electric sorting machine. In order to assure accuracy an adding machine and a Monroe calculator were used for checking.

⁷ See especially the tables in Owsley, "The Economic Structure of Rural Tennessee, 1850-1860," in *loc. cit.*, 161-82.

⁸ Tensas, Ascension, Washington, Calcasieu, and Claiborne parishes are used as representative of the northern alluvial, the sugar producing, the eastern prairie, the western prairie, and the oak uplands areas, respectively.

Percentage of Slaveholders

<i>Number of slaves held</i>	<i>Tensas Cotton producing region</i>	<i>Ascension Sugar producing region</i>	<i>Washington Timber, grazing, subsistence agriculture</i>	<i>Calcasieu Grazing and subsistence farming</i>	<i>Claiborne Diversified agriculture</i>
1- 4	1.09	33.80	48.09	47.06	34.69
5- 9	3.83	19.01	24.59	28.57	23.29
10- 19	7.66	14.08	19.13	18.49	24.92
20- 29	10.93	6.34	3.83	4.20	8.96
30- 39	9.29	2.11	2.19	.00	4.40
40- 49	8.74	3.52	.55	.84	2.44
50- 99	31.69	8.45	1.64	.84	1.30
100-199	20.77	7.04	.00	.00	.00
200-499	4.92	4.23	.00	.00	.00
500-Upward	1.09	1.41	.00	.00	.00

It is to be noted that the sizes of slaveholdings were largest in Tensas Parish, where 58 per cent of the slaveholders held more than fifty slaves each. In all other parishes studied the picture is the reverse. Ascension Parish ranked next to Tensas in sizes of slaveholdings, but even here approximately one-half of the slaveholders owned fewer than ten slaves. Outside of the cotton and sugar producing regions there was no parish in which as many as one per cent of the heads of families owned fifty slaves. The table on the following page summarizes the results of a study of the slaveholding status of heads of families in sample Louisiana parishes. It shows that in all parishes outside the alluvial area of the Mississippi River the majority of people owned no slaves, and of those who were slaveholders, two-thirds owned from one to nine slaves.⁹

In any agricultural society one of the basic criteria of economic well-being is whether or not the farmer owns the soil which he tills. It is a notorious fact that between 70 and 80 per cent of the farmers of the Lower South today are tenants. Such was not the case before the Civil War. Recent studies have shown that the ownership of land in the ante-bellum South was well distributed and was increasing.¹⁰ A

⁹ The difference between the figures given in this table and those in the one above is due to the fact that here the slaveholding status of all heads of families engaged in agriculture is shown, while in the other only slaveholders are considered.

¹⁰ See especially the studies by Clark, Owsley, and Weaver, cited above.

<i>Sample Parishes</i>	<i>Percentage of Heads of Families Owning:</i>							
	<i>None</i>	<i>1-9</i>	<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-49</i>	<i>50-99</i>	<i>100-199</i>	<i>200-499</i>	<i>500-</i>
Ascension								
1850	53.42	21.92	4.57	5.93	5.94	5.02	2.28	.91
1860	51.03	25.86	6.90	5.85	4.14	3.45	2.07	.69
Calcasieu								
1850	61.03	31.42	6.34	.90		.30		
1860	57.04	32.49	7.94	2.16	.36			
Catahoula								
1850	57.76	27.20	6.09	5.31	2.75	.79		
1860	62.70	20.64	5.69	6.35	3.97	.66		
Claiborne								
1850	64.47	24.16	6.74	4.21	.42			
1860	50.32	28.80	12.38	7.84	.65			
West Feliciana								
1850	16.05	21.81	14.81	19.34	17.28	7.82	2.47	.41
1860	27.17	11.42	14.13	19.02	15.22	10.87	1.09	1.09
Iberville								
1850	30.49	25.00	13.72	15.85	9.76	4.88	.30	
1860	21.31	29.50	14.43	12.46	13.77	7.54	.98	
Livingston								
1850	63.49	28.26	7.30	.64	.32			
1860	73.81	18.70	5.10	1.70	.68			
Plaquemines								
1850	47.61	34.93	5.35	3.09	5.35	3.10	.56	
1860	47.09	20.87	12.62	5.34	3.88	7.77	2.43	
Sabine								
1850	69.27	24.91	3.45	2.00	.36			
1860	69.61	20.98	5.43	3.74	.34			
Tensas								
1850	6.82	12.50	21.02	26.71	19.32	13.07	.57	
1860	6.15	4.62	7.18	27.19	29.74	19.49	4.62	1.03
Washington								
1850	55.52	34.09	7.14	3.24				
1860	60.13	28.97	7.63	2.62	.65			

study of Louisiana reveals, as similar studies of Mississippi and Alabama have done, that there was an even wider distribution of ownership of land in the Lower South than in the Upper South. Of the parishes analyzed in this study the highest percentage of farmers owning their

land was found in Tensas Parish. In this parish, which lies wholly within the northern alluvial area, 82 per cent of the farmers were landowners in 1850. As in the case of slaveownership, the section ranking next was the sugar producing parishes. In Ascension, West Feliciana, Iberville, and Plaquemines more than 80 per cent of the farming population owned land in 1850.

In Claiborne Parish, which was situated in the northwestern part of the state, 68 per cent of the farmers owned land in 1850. The parish ranking lowest in landownership was Sabine, which was in the extreme western part of the state. Here only 39 per cent of the farmers were listed as owning real estate in 1850. This low percentage of landowners was probably due to the fact that many farmers were squatters on the public domain in this sparsely settled parish and had not acquired title to their land.

A comparison of figures in 1850 and 1860 shows that the distribution of landownership in Louisiana increased during the decade. In all except two of the parishes studied there was an increase in the number of landowners. In West Feliciana the percentage of landowners remained practically the same. Only in Washington Parish did the number of landowners decrease—the decline from 81 per cent in 1850 to 75 per cent in 1860 probably being due to emigration to public lands in western Louisiana and Texas. The greatest gains in landownership were made in those parishes which were sparsely settled in 1850. For example, the percentage of farmers owning land increased in Catahoula Parish from 66 per cent in 1850 to 92 per cent in 1860; in Calcasieu Parish from 82 per cent to 97 per cent; and in Sabine from 28 per cent to 57 per cent.

This wide distribution of the ownership of land was undoubtedly due in great measure to the large amount of public land, both federal and state, in Louisiana, great tracts of which had been reclaimed by extension of levees on both sides of the Mississippi. Between 1830 and 1850, 3,500,000 acres of former federal land were reclaimed by the extension of the levees.¹¹

¹¹ Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933), II, 641.

A recent writer on the subject of the "class struggle" in Louisiana has asserted that "It was the absence of good, cheap land and not slavery that drove the poor immigrant from Louisiana, . . . land prices alone operated in the fifties to prevent the farmer from becoming a planter."¹² The operation of the Graduation Act in Louisiana would seem to cast considerable doubt upon such a statement. Between the passage of the act in 1854 and July 1, 1861, there were 1,967,614 acres of federal lands sold in Louisiana.¹³ Of this amount, 1,485,896 acres were sold at graduated prices. Most of this land was sold at the land offices in the northwestern and western parishes where, it will be recalled, grazing and diversified farming by small or non-slaveholders predominated. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1855, 71,000 acres were sold at the land office in this region for 25 cents per acre and 144,000 acres were sold for 12½ cents per acre. During the year ending July 1, 1859, 28,000 acres were sold at Natchitoches for 50 cents per acre. The amount of land sold in Louisiana at graduated prices from the passage of the act to July 1, 1861, is as follows:¹⁴

Price	Number of acres sold
\$1.00	18,246
.75	211,132
.50	324,405
.25	543,099
.12½	388,614

It is impossible to determine exactly what percentage of this land was engrossed by speculators. The figures presented here and below would seem, however, to contradict the thesis that "the nonslaveholders were depressed and excluded from the plantation system not only because they failed to secure good land, but because they gradually lost the ability to buy Negroes."¹⁵

¹² Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1939), 85.

¹³ State lands sold during the period are not included, though their sale was very considerable.

¹⁴ The figures cited in this paragraph have been compiled from the annual reports of the Secretary of the Interior, 1855-1861.

¹⁵ Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana*, 86. The thesis that slavery oppressed the non-slaveholding whites as much as, if not more than, it did the blacks is an old one. George M. Weston, writing in 1857, stated: "The non-slaveholding whites are sunk into

In order, however, to get a clearer picture of the economic structure of the agricultural population we must consider not only the ownership of land but also the size of the units owned; whether or not the farmers owned tracts of land large enough to make a good living. For the purpose of discussion the sample parishes have been divided into the following groups: the alluvial area north of the junction of the Red River with the Mississippi, represented by Tensas and Catahoula parishes; the northern oak uplands region, represented by Claiborne Parish; the western prairie and piney woods section, represented by Sabine and Calcasieu parishes; the eastern prairie region, represented by Livingston and Washington parishes; and the Sugar Bowl, represented by Ascension, West Feliciana, Iberville, and Plaquemines. In order, also, to get some idea of the relative economic standing of the slaveholders and the non-slaveholders, the two groups have been separated and the sizes of their landholdings compared. The year 1860 has been chosen because it marked the end of the ante-bellum era.

Northern Alluvial Area

<i>Acres Owned</i>	<i>Percentage of land-owning slaveholders</i>	<i>Percentage of land-owning non-slaveholders</i>
1- 49	1.85	23.52
50- 99	3.00	15.20
100- 199	7.87	25.18
200- 299	8.33	9.26
300- 399	7.63	6.41
400- 499	5.09	1.18
500- 999	23.84	1.66
1000-4999	37.50	1.18
5000-Upwards	2.31	.00
Undetermined ¹⁶	2.58	16.60

abject poverty, and must so remain, without means or hope of escape There are no elements of recuperation in such a class, and under such circumstances they are driven off in large numbers by the pressure of absolute want, while those who remain cease to struggle with their lot, and are even made use of, by exciting their prejudices of race and color, as the defender and supporters of a system of things under which they are the chief sufferers." *Progress of Slavery* (Washington, 1857), 39-40. See, also, James Redpath, *The Roving Editor* (New York, 1859), 261, *et seq.*

¹⁶ Sizes not indicated, although the monetary values of these holdings are given in Schedule I of the manuscript census returns.

It will be recalled that the largest units of slaveholding and the highest percentage of landownership were found in Tensas Parish. Likewise the largest units of landownership were found in the northern alluvial area represented by this parish. The above chart reveals that 64 per cent of the slaveholders owned 500 acres or more. Among the non-slaveholders the picture is the reverse: 81 per cent owned less than 500 acres. It is to be noted, however, that the non-slaveholders held land in substantial quantities—56 per cent holding from 50 to 400 acres. This chart shows that even in the area of the largest landholdings in Louisiana there was a substantial number of middle class non-slaveholders.¹⁷

The Sugar Bowl

<i>Acres Owned</i>	<i>Percentage of land- owning slaveholders</i>	<i>Percentage of land- owning non-slaveholders</i>
1- 49	10.89	22.73
50- 99	6.20	21.49
100- 199	15.08	33.06
200- 299	6.36	4.96
300- 399	5.86	2.48
400- 499	5.19	5.37
500- 999	16.42	4.55
1000-4999	30.15	2.48
5000-Upward	3.02	.00
Undetermined	.84	2.89

The Sugar Bowl of Louisiana has been almost universally portrayed as a section of immense landholdings. A detailed analysis reveals that this generalization is only partially correct. The sugar industry involves the investment of large amounts of capital and for profitable operation requires relatively large units of land. That the size of sugar plantations was not necessarily larger than cotton plantations, however, can be seen by comparing the units of holdings in the northern alluvial area and the Sugar Bowl. As a matter of fact, there was an upper limit to which the size of sugar plantations could profitably be allowed to grow.¹⁸ An average for the Sugar Bowl, including both slaveholders

¹⁷ The actual numbers used in this chart were 432 slaveholding landowners and 421 non-slaveholding landowners.

¹⁸ V. Alton Moody, *Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations* (New Orleans, 1924), 53-54.

and non-slaveholders, reveals that 31 per cent of the planters owned over 500 acres.

The exaggerated notion as to the size of sugar plantations has probably arisen because the non-slaveholder in the Sugar Bowl, as elsewhere in the ante-bellum South, has been generally overlooked. The above table shows that in the Sugar Bowl, as in the northern alluvial area, there was a goodly number of well-to-do non-slaveholders.¹⁹ Sixty-seven per cent of the non-slaveholders held land in substantial quantities, that is, from 50 to 400 acres.

Outside the northern alluvial area and the Sugar Bowl the units of land owned were much smaller. This is strikingly demonstrated in the following tables.

Eastern Prairie Region

<i>Acres Owned</i>	<i>Percentage of land-owning slaveholders</i>	<i>Percentage of land-owning non-slaveholders</i>
1- 49	3.85	21.23
50- 99	6.15	15.54
100- 199	10.38	24.28
200- 299	6.92	14.45
300- 399	13.85	7.66
400- 499	9.62	3.50
500- 999	33.08	9.19
1000-4999	15.00	.66
5000-Upward	.38	.00
Undetermined	.76	3.50

North Oak Uplands Area

<i>Acres Owned</i>	<i>Percentage of land-owning slaveholders</i>	<i>Percentage of land-owning non-slaveholders</i>
1- 49	1.65	7.95
50- 99	2.97	10.98
100- 199	9.57	29.17
200- 299	12.54	19.89
300- 399	14.03	11.74
400- 499	13.37	6.25
500- 999	29.21	7.95
1000-4999	15.68	1.14
5000-Upward	.16	.00
Undetermined	.83	4.92

¹⁹ The actual numbers involved here were 597 slaveholding landowners and 242 non-slaveholding landowners.

Western Prairie and Piney Woods

<i>Acres Owned</i>	<i>Percentage of land- owning slaveholders</i>	<i>Percentage of land- owning non-slaveholders</i>
1- 49	14.48	51.33
50- 99	16.16	16.29
100- 199	20.88	14.58
200- 299	10.77	7.58
300- 399	11.11	2.27
400- 499	3.38	1.14
500- 999	14.14	1.52
1000-4999	6.38	1.70
5000-Upward	.34	.00
Undetermined	2.37	3.60

These charts show that a good percentage of non-slaveholders held substantial amounts of land. In the eastern prairie region 62 per cent of the non-slaveholders who owned land held from 50 to 400 acres and in the north oak uplands area 72 per cent held a like amount. In the western prairie and piney woods section 14 per cent of the slaveholders and 51 per cent of the non-slaveholders held from 1 to 49 acres. It should be pointed out, however, that in the western prairie and piney woods section the number of acres owned hardly represents a fair index of the economic well-being of the people. Cattle raising was the main occupation in this section. The cattle roamed on open ranges, and the amount of land owned represents only the acreage necessary for subsistence crops. For example, Ante Miller, a non-slaveholder of Sabine Parish, was listed in the census of 1850 with only 100 acres of land, valued at \$400. Yet he had 500 horses, 40 milk cows, 60 swine, and 6,500 "other cattle." This livestock was valued at \$30,000.²⁰

From this discussion it may be seen that landownership in Louisiana was widespread and was increasing, especially among those farmers who owned less than fifty acres. A graph of the economic standing of farmers in Louisiana before the Civil War would probably approximate a normal distribution curve with the very poor on one extreme and the very rich on the other, and with the great majority of the agricultural population, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, falling into the middle class or yeomanry.

²⁰ Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Unpublished), Schedule IV, Productions of Agriculture.

In order to obtain some idea of the economic progress of agricultural society in late ante-bellum Louisiana, some 350 heads of families who appeared on the agricultural schedules in both 1850 and 1860 were studied individually. Men from all economic groups were selected, both slaveholders and non-slaveholders being included. Four criteria of economic standing were used: slaves owned, total land (improved plus unimproved), value of farm, and value of livestock. In every item checked there was a decided gain during the ten year period. A mere glance at the following table will reveal a decade of remarkable prosperity.

<i>Sample Parishes</i>	<i>Number of Operators</i>	<i>Slaves</i>		<i>Total Land</i>	
		1850	1860	1850	1860
Ascension	17	1,108	1,532	10,238	22,337
Calcasieu	40	209	313	6,531	8,177
Catahoula	52	1,045	1,548	31,104	49,552
Claiborne	30	450	789	14,410	30,343
West Feliciana	24	2,094	2,667	44,449	47,560
Iberville	30	1,247	1,773	23,173	35,182
Livingston	25	166	217	8,715	14,370
Plaquemines	21	1,417	1,703	28,500	28,520
Sabine	20	135	244	4,154	11,051
Tensas	55	3,597	6,124	95,919	148,256
Washington	36	259	436	23,983	32,080
	350	11,727	17,346	291,176	428,028

<i>Sample Parishes</i>	<i>Number of Operators</i>	<i>Value of Farm</i>		<i>Value of Livestock</i>	
		1850	1860	1850	1860
Ascension	17	918,300	1,337,200	83,782	123,486
Calcasieu	40	19,325	57,700	62,775	37,020
Catahoula	52	283,347	1,544,695	41,220	91,300
Claiborne	30	49,160	185,100	20,543	43,850
West Feliciana	24	519,225	729,483	72,571	141,618
Iberville	30	574,300	1,986,700	56,696	179,915
Livingston	25	52,450	70,800	15,706	27,340
Plaquemines	21	1,401,000	874,000	43,730	208,400
Sabine	20	14,068	43,673	10,185	18,015
Tensas	55	1,548,756	6,645,890	110,873	350,539
Washington	36	18,150	49,045	20,091	32,969
	350	5,398,081	13,524,286	538,172	1,254,352

This table shows that the landholdings of 350 individuals—representing both slaveowner and non-slaveowner—doubled, while the value of their land increased more than two-fold. The picture presented here should not be confused with the general expansion and economic development which was a consequence of extensive immigration into the Lower South in the 1850's; we are making a comparison of the economic condition of the same group of individuals over a ten year period. A significant fact shown by this table is that the value of livestock in the area increased almost threefold during the period. This would seem to indicate that these people of the Lower South were intent not merely upon more slaves and more land but were striving toward a well balanced economy.²¹

It should be emphasized that the prosperity of the 1850's was shared by all classes. By examining individual cases it may be seen that many small farmers who were non-slaveholders in 1850 had acquired both land and slaves by 1860. In the frontier parish of Calcasieu, Prospere Chretien owned neither land nor slaves in 1850 but by 1860 he had acquired five slaves and 160 acres of land. Benjamin Lyons of the same parish acquired two slaves and increased his acreage from 40 to 140 acres. The acquisition of land and slaves took place not merely in the frontier parts of the state but also in the rich alluvial areas. For example, Theo Bouchereau of Ascension Parish owned no slaves in 1850; by 1860 he had acquired 26 slaves, increased his acreage from 35 to 167 acres and improved the value of his livestock from \$200 to \$1600. During this period G. Richard and Felix Martinez of Iberville Parish acquired 12 and 17 slaves, respectively, and increased their landholdings from 35 to 110 and from 40 to 126 acres.

By way of summary it may be stated that whereas in some regions

²¹ While it is not possible within the limits of these notes to discuss the subject of stock raising or the one-crop system in the ante-bellum South, attention should be called to the fact that the problems need to be restudied in the light of the manuscript census schedules and local records. For the interest of planters in diversification, see, for example, Edwin A. Davis (ed.), *Plantation Life in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana, 1836-1846, as Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow* (New York, 1943), 31, *et seq.*, and Wendell H. Stephenson, "A Quarter-Century of a Mississippi Plantation: Eli J. Capell of 'Pleasant Hill,'" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), XXIII (1936), 355-74.

of Louisiana the plantation type of economic life seemed to dominate, it was by no means typical of the state as a whole. The western part of the state was still in a frontier stage of development. The agricultural population of the oak uplands region of the state consisted mainly of small subsistence farmers and in the eastern piney woods section the middle class farmer or yeoman was in the majority. Even in the Sugar Bowl, where sixty per cent of the landowners held less than 500 acres, there was a strong and important element of non-slaveholders. A detailed analysis of the holdings of individuals shows that the decade 1850-1860 was a period of general prosperity shared by all classes. In short, a comprehensive study of agricultural population in sample parishes of Louisiana reveals a complicated and changing economic picture which should not be distorted by dividing the entire population into planter, poor-white, and slave, or what one scholar has termed "the tripartite tableau of southern society."²²

LETTERS FROM THE WASHINGTON PEACE CONFERENCE OF 1861

EDITED BY KENNETH M. STAMPP

Among the numerous last minute efforts to avoid the Civil War and to adjust the differences between the sections through compromise the most auspicious was the Peace Conference which assembled in Washington on February 4, 1861. Twenty-one states had responded to the invitation of Virginia and sent delegates to this conference "to adjust the present unhappy controversies." A serious threat to the success of the gathering, however, lay in the fact that the states of the deep South, then busily engaged in organizing the Confederacy, were not represented. Equally ominous was the basic hostility of most Republican politicians toward the movement,¹ although in most states under their

²² A. N. J. Den Hollander, "The Tradition of 'Poor Whites'," in W. T. Couch (ed.), *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 417.

¹ It was with reference to the Peace Conference that Senator Zachariah Chandler wrote his much-quoted letter to Governor Austin Blair of Michigan contending that "no Re-

control the powerful sentiment in favor of compromise had forced them to heed Virginia's call. A brief glance at the action of the Republican dominated state of Indiana will illustrate the workings of these conflicting forces.

On January 24 Governor Oliver P. Morton transmitted the Virginia appeal to the Indiana legislature, then in session. Having already taken a strong stand in favor of coercion,² Morton personally displayed little enthusiasm for the project.³ But it had caught the fancy of Union lovers throughout the state,⁴ and the Democratic minority in the legislature quickly submitted resolutions for the appointment of delegates.⁵ A few days later the Democratic caucus gave the plan its formal approval and suggested that a bipartisan delegation be sent to the conference in Washington. Republicans, however, were at first inclined to ignore this proposal, their position being that authority for such a convention could emanate only from Congress.⁶

Finally, on the night of January 30, the Republican caucus yielded to public opinion and agreed to the proposition provided that the commissioners be appointed by the governor, that their powers be so limited

publican State should have sent delegates I hope you will send *stiff-backed* men or none Some of the manufacturing States think that a fight would be awful. Without a little blood-letting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush." *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 1247 (February 27, 1861). Michigan, together with Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, and California, also failed to send delegates to the conference.

² In a speech at Indianapolis, November 22, 1860, Morton proposed that if South Carolina was to leave the Union, "I trust it will be at the point of the bayonet, after our best efforts have failed to compel her to submission to the laws If it was worth a bloody struggle to establish this Nation, it is worth one to preserve it." Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, November 27, 1860.

³ The governor expressed the hope that the conference would be postponed at least until after Lincoln's inauguration. Indianapolis *Indiana State Sentinel*, January 31, 1861; William D. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1899), I, 104.

⁴ David Kilgore to Morton, January 25, 1861, in William D. Foulke Papers (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis); W. H. and Ariel Drapier (comps.), *Brevier Legislative Reports of Indiana*, 22 vols. (Indianapolis, 1858-1888), 1861, Regular Session, 118, 127, 139-40; Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, January 26, 1861.

⁵ *Brevier Legislative Reports of Indiana*, 1861, Regular Session, 121-22, 127.

⁶ Indianapolis *Indiana State Sentinel*, January 29, 1861. This organ of the Democratic party denounced the Republicans for their position and urged the legislature to resign and go before the people on the issue. *Ibid.*, January 30, 1861.

as to prohibit their acting until nineteen states were represented, and that they try to get the conference adjourned until some later date.⁷ In that form the necessary resolution was introduced the following day, and, after unsuccessful attempts by the Democrats to take from the governor the power to appoint delegates, both houses passed it almost unanimously.⁸

Pursuant to the instructions of the legislature, Governor Morton selected five delegates, all staunch Republicans, to the Peace Conference. Headed by Caleb B. Smith, soon to enter Lincoln's cabinet as Secretary of the Interior, the delegation included T. C. Slaughter, Godlove S. Orth, E. W. H. Ellis, and P. A. Hackleman. From each, however, Morton first demanded the proper written reply to the following questions:

1. Would you favor any proposition of compromise that involves an amendment of the Constitution of the United States?
2. Would you be in favor of any proposition by which Slavery should be recognized as existing in any of the Territories of the United States, present or to be acquired?
3. Would you favor granting Slavery any additional guarantees?
4. Are you in favor of maintaining the Constitution of the United States as it is and of enforcing the laws?⁹

Each delegate answered the first three questions in the negative and the fourth in the affirmative. Caleb Smith's reply was typical:

Hon O. P. Morton

Indianapolis Feby 1, 1861

Sir

In answer to your inquires of this date relative to my opinions upon the several matters referred to, I have the honor to state

1 I consider that the Constitution of the United States contains every provision necessary for the protection of every right or prerogative which the several

⁷ *Ibid.*, February 1, 1861; Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, January 31, 1861.

⁸ Some Republicans declared that they voted for the resolution as "a mere matter of policy." Many Democrats voted affirmatively under protest against its implied hostility to the project. Preferring this to nothing, they expressed the hope that the Indiana commissioners would "become more patriotic when they get beyond the influence of this legislature and its surroundings." *Brevier Legislative Reports of Indiana*, 1861, Regular Session, 137-39, 141-46, 163-64.

⁹ A copy of the questions, dated February 1, 1861, is in the Oliver P. Morton Manuscripts (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis).

states can justly claim, and I am not therefore in favor of any compromise which would involve an amendment of the Constitution.

2 I could not agree to any proposition by which slavery would be recognized as existing in any of the Territories of the United States, nor in any hereafter to be acquired, unless at the time of such acquisition it existed by force of positive law.

3 I am not in favor of granting to slavery any additional guarantees beyond those already provided for in the Constitution.

4 I am in favor of maintaining the Constitution of the United States and giving full effect to all its provisions and of enforcing all laws passed in conformity to it.

I am with respect
Your obt servt,
Caleb B. Smith

Hackleman added frankly that he regarded the proposed conference as one of "doubtful propriety," and a "dangerous and mischievous" precedent.¹⁰ "The principle good anticipated for it," recalled Ellis, "was to postpone the commencement of hostilities until after the inauguration of President Lincoln."¹¹

With their hands thus tied the suspicious Indiana delegation joined the commissioners who assembled in Washington on the appointed day. A thick cloud of secrecy concealed their debates and proceedings throughout the month of February. The following letters to Governor Morton from the Indiana delegates at the Peace Conference throw some light upon the attitudes of these representative Republicans.¹²

Gov Morton,

Washington Feb 7—1861

Dear Sir,

According to promise I write you briefly in regard to the aspect of things here, and our program towards an adjustment.

You can have little idea of the excitement which exists here among all classes. No other topic is spoken of but the one great question of the Union,

¹⁰ Replies from Smith, Hackleman, Orth, and Ellis, dated February 1, 1861; from Slaughter, dated February 3, 1861, all in *ibid*.

¹¹ E. W. H. Ellis, "Autobiography of a Pioneer," in *Indiana Magazine of History* (Bloomington, 1905-), X (1914), 70. The Indianapolis *Indiana State Sentinel*, February 2, 1861, denounced Morton for seeking to "burlesque the convention" by appointing mere partisans.

¹² These letters are all in the Oliver P. Morton Manuscripts. The spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are given exactly as they appear in the letters themselves.

and we hear constantly hopes expressed that the Peace Conference may do something to restore quiet and save the Union, And on the other hand the more frequent suggestion, that all is hopeless and nothing can be done. To a man from the North, and more especially from the quiet homes of Indiana, all this sounds strange and unaccountable.

Our Congressional delegation, as far as I have seen them, concur in the opinion that nothing can be done to bring back the seceding states, until the events of time have convinced them of the impossibility of maintaining a Southern Confederacy. The only thing we can hope to accomplish is to adopt some measure to keep the Border states in the Union. And judging from the violent secession language of the leaders of the Southern Democracy this seems almost impossible. The demands they make upon the North are of the most exorbitant and unreasonable character. For instance the delegation from Virginia presents the Crittenden proposition,¹³ with still stronger guaranties, and more humiliating concessions, which of course we will not accede to.

The Conference has done nothing as yet but to appoint a committee, on motion of Mr. [James] Guthrie of Kentucky, consisting of one from each state, who shall consider all propositions for adjustment and report to the convention. Mr. C. B. Smith will be the member from Indiana, with instructions to agree to nothing as a finality until it receives the assent of the remainder of the commission. My own candid opinion is that they will not agree, but will present their conclusions in a majority and minority report, and that upon these the North and South will divide. They want us to concede every thing—slavery protection in the territories, right of transit,¹⁴ and all.

It is barely possible that we may agree to throw aside all propositions but a simple recommendation to call a Convention of the States, in the manner provided in the Constitution.¹⁵ A great advantage to this policy would be that it

¹³ The compromise plan of Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky embraced a series of proposed amendments to the Constitution. Crittenden's plan attempted a settlement of many of the outstanding differences between the sections. The provision most widely discussed was the one calling for the settlement of the question of slavery in the territories by the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line with a congressional slave code to protect the institution below that line. Republicans protested that this was merely the Breckinridge platform of 1860.

¹⁴ The right of slaveholders to carry their slaves through the free states without molestation was a proposal frequently advanced by those who formulated compromise plans.

¹⁵ Several times the Indiana delegates sounded out Morton on the idea of calling a national convention. This would seem to imply a willingness to consider amendments to the Constitution, and thus to retreat from their original stand against granting any additional guarantees to slavery. Senator Chandler, in the letter quoted above, complained that "Ohio, Indiana, and Rhode Island are caving in, and there is danger of Illinois . . ." But it is more likely that the delegates considered this idea as a way to stall for time. Such, at least, was their explanation to Morton.

would ensure the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln without trouble, and enable him to gain the confidence of the South by the pacific and conservative character of his administration. The Virginia Convention, to assemble on the 15 would not dare to adopt an ordinance of secession, with this peaceful and constitutional mode of redress for their grievances held out to them. It would also save us from the humiliation of giving assent to any act or measure of adjustment, which would indicate a departure from the principles of the Republican party. What is to be feared from a convention of the people? We should have a fair prospect of getting the control of its deliberations, and at all events would have a veto upon its actions. It could not make matters worse, and it might make them better. What do you think of it? It certainly seems to me preferable to the adoption of any measure, which under the present excitement would be accepted by the South. Hoping to hear from you I am very truly &c

E W H Ellis

Washington Feb 9—1861

Gov Morton,

I send you copies of Resolutions publicly circulated, prepared by Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, and Mr. Guthrie of Kentucky.¹⁶ We are still in hopes that some adjustment may yet be agreed upon. The outside pressure is tremendous—the South threatening and the North a little weaker in the knees than I could wish it.

Truly yours

E W H Ellis

Washington Feby 10, '61

Dear Sir:

Nothing has been done, and I have no idea what is to be the result. There has been no action that indicates what the real sentiment of the Conference is, or what phase it may assume.

I have not changed my views since I left Indianapolis, but the general impression is that something must be done in order to hold the border slave States and to prevent anarchy. There is no hope of a speedy agreement.

¹⁶ The following resolution was enclosed: "Congress shall have no power to legislate upon the subject of servitude anywhere, except to perform its duties under the Constitution in respect to fugitives from service or labor, and to suppress the foreign slave trade; nor shall any local or Territorial government have power to sanction or protect involuntary servitude in any territory north of the southern boundary of Kansas and the northern boundary of New Mexico, nor to prohibit, hinder, or impair the right to hold persons in service or labor in any territory south of said line, in the same manner as such persons were so held and protected under the laws of the State or Territory from which they were removed."

The news to-day is that the Southern Confederacy has elected Jeff Davis President and Alex H Stevens Vice President. God only knows where we are drifting, but still I have hope that God in his providence will over rule the acts of the traitors to the benefit of humanity & to the advancement of liberal institutions.

Why will not, as a final resort, the recommendation of a General Convention of all the States to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States, answer to gain time for the public mind to cool off?

We are no more enlightened as to what will likely be the result than you are. But I am afraid of the States of Pennsylvania, N. Y., N. J., and *Ohio*! This will sound strangely to you, but it is nevertheless my feeling, not from anything that has occurred in the Conference, but from outside talk.

We may want information from you and the Legislature before the end of this week.

I have received nothing from you.

Yours Truly

P. A. Hackleman

Gov Morton.

Washington City Feb 13, 1861.

Hon O. P. Morton

Dear Sir:—

We have made but little practical progress since I last wrote you.¹⁷ The Conference meets daily but since our organization it is more a matter of form than anything else. Our Committee (one from each State, Smith from Indiana) are almost constantly in session but have not yet matured any proposition and probably will make no report for several days. In the meantime however there are constant conferences among the various delegations, more or less private. I attended one last night, but am not at liberty to state who was present, or what was done, but, *between us*, can say that the views in which you and myself concur, met with general approval. There is of course great contrariety of opinion among the members, even the Republicans, no doubt honestly entertained, and until we come to act upon the Report of the Com^t we shall be unable to form a correct opinion of probable results.

The wisdom of your policy in selecting none but Republicans to represent our State, is very apparent, from the divided councils of those States having mixed commissions. In this respect Ohio is peculiarly unfortunate, and Gov. [Salmon P.] Chase doubtless feels the peculiarity of his position.¹⁸ Thus far

¹⁷ No previous letter from Orth was found in the Morton Manuscripts.

¹⁸ Chase was a delegate to the Peace Conference from Ohio.

we have harmonised (I mean Indiana) though of course there is some diversity of opinion as to mere detail.

Prominent members of our Party, in the conference, and whose devotion to principle has never been questioned, while personally unfavorable to any action antecedent to the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, express a willingness to recommend to Congress to call a Convention of all the States for the purpose of considering the propriety of amending the Con^t. They are influenced mainly by a desire to allay the present invitation—to gain time for the new administration to develop its policy—and in the belief that the people of the States, before the time for their action arrives, will wisely conclude that the old Constitution, if honestly administered, will accomplish all the objects of its institution.

The election in Virginia, and the more recent overwhelming expression of opinion in Tennessee has had a marked effect upon political sentiment at the Capitol, and is very effective, both for this Conference, but still more so for the incoming administration. It shows to the world that despite the efforts of unprincipled traitors the great heart of the honest masses beats in the right direction.

Time is of essential importance in this crisis—madness cannot always rule the hour, and when reason returns it will bring with it duty & loyalty. This is well understood by us, and is the main, indeed only, reason why we are so deliberate in our action.

I have written this letter amid interruptions but visits, and in some cases, visitations are among the established Institutions of the City.

Respectfully

Godlove S. Orth

Washington City Feb 21/1861

Hon O. P. Morton

Dear Sir:—I have written you several times since our arrival here, but the veil of secrecy which the South (& weak men of the North) has thrown over our deliberations has prevented that full report which under other circumstances I should have felt it my duty to make.

I have been expecting to hear from you & to hear your mind,¹⁹ but I suppose your official duties, with the diversion created by the Pres^d visit,²⁰ has engrossed your time.

We are now and have been for the last 5 days in full discussion of the various *Peace* propositions before our body. The Debate is exceedingly able and inter-

¹⁹ Evidently Morton never encouraged the Indiana delegates to support the proposed national convention. There is no evidence that the governor gave them any further instructions or wrote any letters to them after they left Indianapolis.

²⁰ Indianapolis was Lincoln's first stop on his slow journey to Washington in February.

esting and should have been placed in possession of the public. The debate closes tomorrow at 1 O'clock and then we commence voting on the various propositions, say twenty, now before us. We vote by States, and where a delegation is divided the minority have the right to place their vote in the Journal.

My impression now is that, a majority of the States will recommend certain amendments to the Constitution with an alternative proposition that if Congress fail to propose the specific amendments, they shall request the several States to call a general Convention. I think the vote on the above will stand 12 to 8. I *don't know* how Ind^a will vote finally. I *hope* we shall be a unit. I can only speak for myself, and that is to say that I have as yet seen no reason to change my position. I *may* as a last resort vote to recommend a gen^l Convention, but I shall not do this unless I feel assured that it will be acceptable to the moderate men from the Border States.

I shall probably speak tonight. We have thus far done all in our power to procrastinate, and shall continue to do so, in order to remain in session until after the 4th of March. For after the inauguration we shall have an honest fearless man at the helm, and will soon know whether the honest masses of the People desire to preserve and perpetuate our Government.

Yours truly,

Godlove S Orth

Late in February the Peace Conference formulated and submitted to Congress a compromise plan resembling the Crittenden proposals and involving certain amendments to the Constitution. Upon the first and most important section relating to the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line in the territories the Indiana delegation declined to vote, but gave its approval to the rest.²¹ Although the United States Senate gave the recommendations of the Peace Conference slight attention,²² the Democrats in the Indiana legislature immediately supported a resolution allowing the voters to decide the issue at the polls in April. The Republicans, however, contended that such an arrangement "might bring shame to our people" before that time, and the resolution was tabled.²³

²¹ *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 1254-55 (February 27, 1861); Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, March 1, 1861.

²² *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 1402 (March 2, 1861).

²³ *Brevier Legislative Reports of Indiana*, 1861, Regular Session, 321-22.

On the last day of the session the Republicans aided in the passage of a joint resolution urging Congress to call a convention of the states to discuss the nation's problems and to consider amendments to the Constitution.²⁴ But Congress had already adjourned, and Lincoln had been peacefully inaugurated. The Peace Conference had served the purposes of Republican strategists, for it had facilitated a policy of procrastination while the final weeks of Buchanan's administration were dragging to a close.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 371-73; Indianapolis *Indiana State Sentinel*, March 12, 1861.

Book Reviews

The South in American History. By William B. Hesseltine. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943. Pp. xiv, 691. Illustrations, maps. \$4.25.)

Seven years ago Professor Hesseltine published *A History of the South, 1607-1936*, the first synthesis of southern history from colonial to recent times. The present work is a revision of the original, decidedly enlarged. Some of the text has been rewritten; the first edition's bifurcated theme, "Abolition and Proslavery," has been reorganized into two chapters; a sub-topic on "Cultural Life in the South" has been expanded into a chapter; and the three chapters on the epoch since Reconstruction have been increased to five. Throughout the volume there is evidence that the author is aware of many contributions to southern historical scholarship that have appeared since 1936.

The new title, Professor Hesseltine explains, stems from his conviction that various aspects of southern life—social, political, and economic—have been inseparably linked with the same phases in the larger, national pattern. The South's problems have been so distinctly American that the region's history must be integrated with the chronicles of the nation. Despite this thesis, some statements of general American history in the first edition have been deleted, and much of the expanded portion of the second presents matter that is genuinely southern.

In appraising Professor Hesseltine's volume, it should be remembered that he is pioneering in a field where the course has not been carefully charted. Perhaps many historians of the South will wish that he had concentrated upon materials that are peculiarly southern and given more space, for example, to constitutional theory, transportation, southern phases of the westward movement, factorage, literature, architecture, the common man, and the economics of slavery. Granting the validity of his approach, he has organized his materials in proper fashion and written the narrative in clear, simple English. The book is a much more adequate text than the first. Some appropriate illustrations have been added, though not tabulated; and the format has been greatly improved.

The reviewer wishes his appraisal could end here, but he has another obligation. There are sundry exaggerated statements, dozens of outright errors, and scores of inconsistencies in bibliographical notes. Limitations of space require the sampling method.

Admittedly, a text must resort to general statement applicable to the region or period under consideration. The writer cannot pause to point exception or to appraise controversial issue, as in monographic studies. He should, however, exercise restraint through carefully selected phraseology. Did every planter in colonial Virginia have a storehouse which served back-country farmers (p. 51), or did each plantation home boast a musical instrument (p. 54)? Were overseers commonly compensated by a portion of the staple (p. 266)? The existence of hundreds of factorage firms disproves the statement that the plantation system supplied itself with goods manufactured by slave craftsmen (p. 178). It is incorrect to say that all upper South states seceded (p. 386), or that the Montgomery Convention, acting as a legislative body, adopted all United States laws for the southern Confederacy (p. 412). Were all white men of the South denied the right to vote and to hold office during the period of Carpetbag-Negro control (p. 528)? Was the privilege of voting assured every citizen by the Fifteenth Amendment (p. 519)? Is it true that refineries were nonexistent in the South by the 1930's (p. 643)?

Far too many errors of fact appear in the text. Negro slavery was not introduced into Virginia in 1619 (p. 39), nor was Vandalia colony granted a charter in 1772 or in any other year for that matter (p. 84). Indigo was never a rival of rice (p. 70). The Virginia statute for religious freedom was passed in 1786, not 1785 (p. 113); Nat Turner's insurrection occurred in 1831, not 1830 (p. 207); Grover Cleveland became president in 1885, not 1884 (p. 601); he appointed L. Q. C. Lamar to the Supreme Court bench in 1887, not during his second term (pp. 601-602). Rufus King was from New York, not Massachusetts, at the time of the Missouri controversy (p. 172), and M. W. Phillips was from Mississippi, not Georgia (p. 278). Zebulon B. Vance was re-elected governor of North Carolina in 1864 by an overwhelming majority, not by a slight margin (p. 448); Eli Whitney and Elias Phinney did not enter a partnership (p. 157); Alexander H. Stephens was not a United States senator (p. 377); the Old Dominion's claims to western territory did not date from the charter of 1606 (p. 122); and Benjamin Lundy completed his work in Illinois and died there, not in Washington (p. 203).

There is much confusion in party nomenclature and inaccuracy in political history. On the same page Jefferson's followers are alluded to as Democrats and Republicans (p. 149); elsewhere they are called Democratic Republicans (p. 155). Jefferson did not prevent the re-election of John Randolph to Congress (p. 159); the Roanoke member served in the House continuously from 1799 to 1813. Whigs as well as Democrats participated in the Georgia convention in 1850 and voted for the Georgia platform (p. 343). On page 246 the collapse of the Whig party destroyed the final bond of union; but on page 365 the split in the Democratic party, 1859-1860, had exactly the same effect, expressed in almost identical language.

Relatively obscure men are introduced by their last names all too often, though occasionally complete names of well-known figures are used to the point of monotony. More important, dozens of proper names are misspelled from one to ten times: among them, Halper appears for Helper, Culpepper for Culpeper, Tyron for Tryon, Comfield for Armfield, Breckenridge (R. J. and John C.) for Breckinridge, John C. Carlisle for John G. Carlisle, Sims for Simms, Wring for Wrong, John M. Fiske for John Fiske, Burkner for Barker, Sprout for Sprunt, Blackmer for Blackmar, J. T. Headley for J. W. Headley, Sickles for Stickles, Eckerode for Eckenrode, Pierce for Peirce, W. L. Couch for W. T. Couch, Dan for Dau, Brooke for Brooks, Cecelius Calvert for Cecilius Calvert, Nathanael Hayward for Nathaniel Heyward, Earl Russel for Earl Russell, Phillip H. Sheridan for Philip H. Sheridan, R. G. Walker for R. J. Walker, Richmond *Inquirer* for Richmond *Enquirer*, Pulaska for Pulaski, Carolina for Caroline, and St. Cecelia's Ball for St. Cecilia's Ball.

The bibliographies cite students to some of the most pertinent primary and secondary sources, and should aid them materially in choosing supplementary reading. Unfortunately, scores of titles are imperfectly listed, places and dates of publication are frequently incorrect, and the number of volumes in sets is often wrong.

Louisiana State University

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

British West Florida, 1763-1783. By Cecil Johnson. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. ix, 258. Bibliography, maps. \$3.00.)

The role of Florida as a British colony represented a brief interlude of twenty years in the varied career of that much advertised land. It became British in 1763 as the result of Spain's defeat by England in the Seven Years War. Its importance to England was its location on the Gulf of Mexico and the fact that possession eliminated vexatious boundary disputes of nearly a century. From the beginning, the Florida provinces were unlike any other British colony in North America. They never advanced beyond the simplest frontier condition and were always a financial liability to the mother country. They were returned to Spain too soon for British policy to bear fruit, even if it had been wiser than appearances indicated. For purposes of administration, the British divided the Gulf coast into two provinces. Of these, West Florida, the subject of the volume under discussion, extended from the Apalachicola River to the Mississippi and north to 32 degrees, 30 minutes. It included the western strip of Spanish Florida and a part of former French Louisiana.

Inasmuch as no comprehensive picture of West Florida based on the documents has been heretofore published, Mr. Johnson's book represents a pioneer achievement. Seven out of nine chapters are devoted to the political and eco-

nomic life of the province. The picture is not alluring because petty jealousies, bickering, a poor land system, and inadequate and unenlightened policies kept the colony poor and weak. The author's main interest appears to be this internal picture. It is treated with greater detail and more success than the international aspect.

The effect of the American Revolutionary war, which consumed seven of the twenty years as a British province and which was responsible for the ultimate surrender to Spain, is briefly discussed in one chapter. The relations between Pensacola and New Orleans, or England and Spain, along the Mississippi is also abbreviated. This is a weakness, since West Florida's connection with the international maneuvers in the Mississippi Valley constituted the most pertinent factor of its existence.

British occupation in the Floridas left almost no lasting influences, yet the twenty years were not spent wholly in vain, the author insists, because they fostered the use of the river as a commercial highway by the back country and stimulated immigration from the older settlements, a movement which never stopped and which eventually helped to bring the Floridas into the American Union.

British West Florida is an able brief account of a little known subject. It is not a definitive study, for the sources contain much material which has been used only sparingly and there are other mines of information, such as the Spanish Archives of the Indies, which have not been touched at all except through secondary literature.

Winter Park, Florida

KATHRYN TRIMMER ABBEY

Texas, the Lone Star State. By Rupert Norval Richardson. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943. Pp. xix, 590. Illustrations, maps, appendix. \$5.00.)

This sturdy volume aims to serve the general reader as a readable, accurate, not-too-long history of Texas, and to serve the college student as a textbook. It is not the first attempt to ride these two horses simultaneously, but it is worth noting that Professor Richardson has succeeded in riding them remarkably well—perhaps because he feels that popular books need not be inaccurate and that textbooks are the better if they are readable.

Texas, the Lone Star State stands in succession to *A Pictorial History of Texas* by Homer S. Thrall (1878), *A Complete History of Texas* by Dudley G. Wooten (1899), and Frank W. Johnson's *A History of Texas and Texans*, edited (1914) by Eugene C. Barker and Ernest W. Winkler; it differs from them in that it is the writing of a professional historian, carefully planned with an eye to perspective no less than to accuracy and readability, and in that it profits by a body of scholarly studies produced since the turn of the century.

In 290 pages Richardson sets the stage, presents the characters—from the pre-historic Indians to the reconstruction politicians—and brings the narrative to the adoption of the present Constitution in 1876. When one considers the wealth of material on the Spanish, Mexican, and Republic periods of Texas history, he must marvel at the skill with which Richardson has availed himself of it without allowing details, interesting in themselves, to impede the progress of the narrative. No essential fact is omitted, although a sentence or a phrase often does the work of a page or a paragraph. There are illuminating side-glances and quotations from contemporary sources which not only enliven the narrative but conserve space by evoking from the reader mental pictures more effective than pages of description or exposition.

By thrifty and canny management, Richardson saves half of his pages for the story of near-contemporary and contemporary Texas. To the last sixty-seven years he devotes nearly 300 pages. Thirty pages sufficed for Wooten's account of affairs from 1876 to 1899; Johnson's *Texas and Texans* covered the thirty-eight years following 1876 in forty-four pages. The post-1876 section is the most significant section of Richardson's book. Few careful, trustworthy studies of the period have been made. Richardson's job was largely one of spade work, digging into scattered and slippery sources, and evaluating objectively movements and issues of his own time. Decades hence some of his data may be invalidated, but meantime here is a body of material presented in usable form which gives an over-all picture of Texas today, and how it came to be as it is.

This is the best one-volume history of the state available and it will be for years a standard text. Without over-stressing them, Richardson indicates the economic factors in the development of Texas and lays emphasis on the social life of the region. The topical bibliographies that follow each chapter are a useful guide to manuscript theses as well as to published materials. The index is good.

Southern Methodist University

HERBERT GAMBRELL

Captain John Fowler of Virginia and Kentucky: Patriot, Soldier, Pioneer, Statesman, Land Baron, and Civic Leader. By Ila Earle Fowler. (Cynthiana, Kentucky: The Hobson Press, 1942. [Lithoprint]. Pp. xi, 166. Illustrations. \$2.00.)

This is a good, brief biography of a man who began his interesting public career at twenty-three as a first lieutenant of a Virginia company of Revolutionary soldiers in 1779 and ended it with a letter opposing the election of William Henry Harrison to the presidency in 1840. This statement alone should cause the reader of this review to want to know more about Captain John Fowler, whose personal contacts included many of the notables of his time.

John Fowler moved to Woodford County, Kentucky, in 1783, and became active immediately in the Indian campaigns north of the Ohio and in the movement for separate statehood for that part of Virginia west of the Big Sandy River. He was a member of the Virginia convention that ratified the Constitution in 1788, and entered the lower house of Congress from the Lexington district of Kentucky in 1797. The decade during which he served in Congress was replete in stirring events at home and abroad, and Captain Fowler served his constituents and country well as a legislator. Two of his long letters to the voters of Kentucky in 1803 and 1805, which the author publishes, are excellent summaries of major events after 1797.

Captain Fowler became a citizen of Lexington in 1793, where he was a colorful figure in the capital of the Bluegrass Country for forty-seven years. His economic interests included land investments, wagoning, and the development of what would be called to day an amusement park. At one time he probably owned more than 100,000 acres of land, and the author states further that " 'Captain Fowler's Gardens' were for twenty years (1810-1830) more noted than any other commercial recreation in the Bluegrass Region." Of course, there was a racetrack in connection with the Gardens, and "No plot of ground in or around Lexington had a more varied history," for the pageantry of that picturesque community passed that way for many years. On the site today is a government housing project. But Mrs. Fowler epitomizes the Garden's ancient glory in the following retrospect: "All the pageants passed. The pomp and ceremony of a free citizenry honoring presidents, senators, and distinguished visitors 'is one with Nineveh and Tyre.' The silks and satins rustled into silence. The brocade coats and small clothes fell into tatters and went with the winds. . . . The prancing horses are a faint memory. The carriages are rust and dust. The worker and the player passed. The good earth beloved by that generation in the past shelters and nurtures another generation on its bosom." In these classic lines the author characterizes the social life at Lexington in the days when Henry Clay was indeed the "Harry of the West" and the "Great Pacificator," and Captain Fowler was the leader in directing practically every social occasion of the community, including the arrangements for Lafayette's visit in 1825.

The author further recounts other services that her subject rendered as a member of the town council, a trustee of Transylvania University, and postmaster. Often he acted in a legal capacity for friends. In fact, the account of his varied life is an interesting, partial history of the "Athens of the West," as Lexington came to be called during the lifetime of Captain John Fowler.

On the whole, therefore, the biography is most interesting and a worthy contribution to the ever-increasing number of works on Kentucky history. There are notes and references and an index. The Hobson Press did its work well, but such a narrative deserved to be published in the conventional form.

John Pope, Kentuckian, His Life and Times, 1770-1845: A Saga of Kentucky Politics from 1792 to 1850. By Orval W. Baylor. (Cynthiana, Kentucky: The Hobson Press, 1943. [Lithoprint]. Pp. xiii, 485. Bibliography. \$3.50.)

John Pope was a Virginian by birth, but as a boy of nine he accompanied his parents to Kentucky in 1779, settling "several miles" east of the present Louisville. He attended Dr. James Priestley's school at Bardstown and later studied law, probably under the guidance of George Nicholas. He began practice in Shelbyville, and was elected to represent his county in the Kentucky senate in 1798. Although he began his political career as a Federalist, he had shifted to the Republicans by 1800, in which year he was selected as a presidential elector and cast his vote for Thomas Jefferson. After serving in the Kentucky house during the sessions of 1802 and 1806, he was elected to succeed John Adair in the United States Senate.

As a senator, Pope supported most Republican measures. But in 1812 he disregarded instructions from the Kentucky legislature and voted against war with Great Britain, an act for which he was retired to private life in 1813. During the next fifteen years he busied himself with the practice of law, farming, and local politics, serving several terms in the Kentucky legislature, and leading the "anti-relief" forces during the panic of 1819.

An original John Quincy Adams man in the presidential election of 1824, Pope shifted to the Jackson ranks following the combination of the Clay-Adams forces. He openly advocated the election of Jackson in 1828, and probably expected to be rewarded with an offer of a cabinet post. However, Jackson offered nothing better than the governorship of Arkansas Territory, a position which Pope held until 1835.

Returning to Kentucky, he made an unsuccessful attempt to win a seat in Congress in 1835. Two years later he was successful and continued in Congress until 1843. As a congressman, he opposed the sub-treasury plan and advocated the rechartering of a national bank. He died at Springfield, Kentucky, in 1845.

The value of *John Pope, Kentuckian*, lies almost wholly within the field of Kentucky politics; it contributes nothing new in the field of national life. Pope was of sufficient importance in state affairs to merit a short biography. Mr. Baylor has brought together a large amount of local material and has presented it in a readable manner. Those interested in Kentucky history will appreciate his efforts. Pope was a storm center in his home state, but he never ranked among the foremost leaders of the nation. If he was "a great man" (p. xiii), his biographer has failed to prove it.

No author of a political biography can escape severe criticism if he fails to include citations to sources. Mr. Baylor attempts to cushion himself against such criticism when he states in his Foreword: "Anticipating one point upon which

the critic may dwell, I hasten to say that he will not find the pages of this work cluttered with references and footnotes." But Mr. Baylor has done just what he stated that he did not intend to do. The body of his pages is badly cluttered with references to and long quotations from secondary works and local newspapers, although he gives no authorities for many questionable statements. His assurance that he has "nowhere wilfully falsified" and that the volume is "as accurate as careful and extended research can make it" is not sufficient. The critical reader will demand Mr. Baylor's authorities for such statements as the following: "Newspapers in the East never failed to publish the proceedings and debates of her [Kentucky] Legislature" (p. 278); Clay "made it his business to attempt to destroy every man in public life upon whom there was the least prospect of the Presidential mantle falling" (p. 283); Tyler was nominated for the vice-presidency in order "to conciliate the Clay faction" (p. 448).

A more careful study of national history would have eliminated many errors. The Democratic party was not the first to use the national nominating convention (p. 89). Jackson leaders were not in agreement on the subject of internal improvements in 1827 (p. 275). The Cumberland Road was not open to stage traffic in 1807 (p. 60). The *Congressional Globe* was not a newspaper (p. 485).

If we accept Mr. Baylor's statement that a "complete bibliography of sources" is appended, then we must conclude that his research has been superficial. Although, according to the author, Pope and Clay were "bitter rivals for approximately thirty-five years," the bibliography gives no evidence that any of the biographies, collections of writings, or manuscript letters of Clay were examined. The same applies to most of the other contemporaries. Indeed, there is no evidence that any of the numerous manuscript collections at Washington and elsewhere were consulted. Other noticeable omissions are the journals of the Arkansas territorial legislatures and the principal national and regional historical journals. Although a few out-of-state newspapers are listed, there is no evidence that their complete files were used. Apparently Mr. Baylor limited his research to the material found in Kentucky libraries.

John Pope, Kentuckian, is a local biography based upon local material and will appeal to local readers only. They will find the utility of the volume greatly reduced by the absence of an index.

Memphis State College

JOSEPH H. PARKS

The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860. By John Hope Franklin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943. Pp. viii, 271. Maps, tables, appendices, bibliography. \$4.00.)

At a time when the necessity of understanding racial minorities is of paramount importance, a study such as Dr. Franklin's is of value not only as a

thorough piece of historical research but also as a background for interpreting some present day difficulties of group adjustment. Although the author insists that his work "makes no pretense of pointing the way to any satisfactory adjustment of race relations as they exist today," he recognizes that "any information concerning the genesis of a particular problem is most valuable in understanding it in its present stage." This "information" concerning the free Negro in North Carolina is exceedingly well presented.

The situation of the free Negro in North Carolina was not similar to that of any other southern state. Although North Carolina had fewer free Negroes than either Virginia or Maryland, she had more than twice as many as did any of her southern neighbors. The free Negro population, which was concentrated in the eastern and piedmont counties, increased fifty per cent between 1830 and 1860, totaling 30,463 by the latter date.

The free Negro population in North Carolina was largely rural, while in other states this group tended to concentrate more in towns and cities. "As a rural people, they were subject to all the limitations which circumstances usually fix upon such a people in the ante-bellum South: isolation with its concomitants of social and economic backwardness, and inarticulateness, which brought in its wake political impotency and cultural sterility." These disadvantages were partially offset by the protection from public attack which rurality afforded.

It appears that in comparison with other states North Carolina was more liberal in her attitude toward free Negroes. Restrictive legislation was much longer delayed. North Carolina was the last state in the South to disfranchise free Negroes. The privileges of bearing arms and serving in the militia were allowed later than in the neighboring states. Free Negroes were not forbidden to enter the state until 1827. Never were free Negroes in North Carolina required to have a white guardian—a legal necessity in many states.

Mr. Franklin is not prone to attribute any of this liberality of attitude to the possibility of an enlightened social philosophy on the part of molders of public opinion in North Carolina. He feels that it was due in part to the activities of Quakers and members of manumission societies in the state. To an even greater extent was it due to the dominant economic pattern. The small farmer constituted the largest element in the white population of ante-bellum North Carolina. These self-sufficient yeomen were largely non-slaveholders, he says, with little interest in problems affecting the slaveholders. Consequently, there was a lack of interest in the free Negro—an indifference which allowed him more freedom of action than was true in other states. This latter opinion Mr. Franklin might find somewhat difficult to substantiate. It has not been found in states other than North Carolina that the interests of non-slaveholders were far different from those of the slaveholding group, particularly if the former hoped eventually to

own a slave or two. Nor was the yeoman often politically articulate enough to dominate public opinion.

By 1860, however, evidences of restrictions on free Negroes were numerous and they had become in reality "an unwanted people." Two avenues of escape were offered: migration to some area beyond the limits of the state, or enslavement. No longer was there any possibility of integration into the life of the community. It is perhaps impossible for Mr. Franklin to estimate the extent to which this reversal of liberal attitude was due to natural developments and the extent to which the agitation of northern abolitionists forced North Carolinians to feel they must protect themselves by restricting the possibility of Negro outbreaks.

The liberality of the legal status of the free Negro began to be reduced by 1831, and by 1859 had disappeared entirely. The real severity of the statutes was determined, however, by their enforcement in court. Property rights of the free Negro were never questioned and certain stated guarantees were always assured him. Unfortunately, sentences for black and white did not always coincide.

The same type of discrimination between the races was to be found in the economic field. It was in western North Carolina where slaveholding was not entrenched that there was agitation against free Negro labor. Apparently discriminations were of an economic rather than a racial nature. There were respected and well-to-do Negroes in North Carolina. It is difficult sometimes to generalize as to whether men were held down by their own inadequacies or by restrictive legislation.

In many respects social restrictions upon the free Negro were the most severe they had to bear. They were forced into association with those within their own numerically limited group. The white population refused to accept them; association with slaves was forbidden for fear the latter would be disturbed. Educational opportunities were limited to those which an apprentice system afforded. There were brilliant exceptions, such as John Chaves, who gained an education for himself and shared it with others.

The author gives no indication that these "unwanted people" experienced any but the severities of life. It is fairly generally true, however, that the severities of statute book restrictions on the Negroes in the old South were not a reality in many relationships. Police court records and local newspapers must also frequently reveal a joy of living which even a statute could not quell. It is true, of course, that the personal element was too uncertain, and that the free Negro in North Carolina lacked the legal security which is a necessity for any minority group.

Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860. By Luther Porter Jackson. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942. Pp. xix, 270. Appendices, bibliography. \$3.75.)

This book, a publication of the American Historical Association, is the sort of painstaking study that is needed to clarify the peculiar position of the free Negro in ante-bellum southern society. Often tediously ambling in pace and laborious in detail, it is still a first-rate monograph. It manifests meticulous research, careful checking of one source against another, and thoughtful evaluation of the merits of contradictory evidence. The observation that the development of the argument is sometimes slow-moving is hardly to be taken as an adverse criticism. Words are weighed as well as evidence; generalizations are buttressed by copious illustrative instances; and unusual circumstances are carefully explained.

The period covered, 1830 to 1860, is generally treated as the most dismal one for southern free Negroes. Legal limitations heaped upon them in the years of sectional controversy were harsh and unjust. Defenders of slavery denounced the class as "the very drones and pests of society," and abolitionists, colonizationists, and fire-eaters alike (though for different purposes) agreed in their portrayal of the southern free Negroes as unhappy pariahs. The abundance of concurring testimony—especially since it often derived from men who disagreed on nearly everything else—has led most historians to accept the apparent lot of the free Negro as a true representation of his actual status.

Certainly the free Negro's lot was not ideal. Yet despite attempts to expel the free colored from Virginia and "despite the avalanche of laws and abuses, they stayed in the state, and they prospered" (p. 33). The author finds the answer in favorable economic conditions. A revival in agriculture and the introduction and rather rapid development of several types of manufacturing establishments made labor, whether white, slave, or free colored, a valued commodity. Consequently, expulsion efforts or occasional attempts to enforce existing law with regard to emigration of free Negroes evoked defenses of worth-while, industrious members of the class. It may be that the economic factor is overstressed in this study. It is likely that the individual free Negro, whether or not he was a contributor to Virginia's production, was often able to win the personal friendship and support of the influential white citizens who submitted petitions in his behalf.

Labor and property holding are closely interwoven in the study, on the theory that opportunities in labor would be reflected in property acquisition. As for property, the principal emphasis is upon real estate. With the exception of ownership of slaves by free Negroes, to which a chapter is given, there is usually only incidental treatment of personal property. As the theme is the economic progress of the free Negro, thorough analyses of real estate holdings are

made for the base year, 1830, and for the culminating year, 1860. The remainder of the discussion is directed to explanation of the economic movements and conditions which made possible the significant advancements during the thirty-year period. This involves discussion of the general economic revival; types of occupations engaged in by urban and rural free Negroes; operation and acquisition of farms; labor, business, and property holding in towns; winning of freedom, especially through self-purchase, in the urban areas; and free Negro slaveholding of both the benevolent and commercial varieties.

The basic source materials are official records: the unpublished federal census (including the free inhabitants, slave, and agricultural schedules), and various state, county, and city records, such as tax books, deed books, will books, registers of free Negroes, and legislative petitions. The author's introductory analysis of the pitfalls and relative values of these sources for determining occupations and property ownership deserves the attention of others who are beginning to use these long-neglected materials.

There are two interesting appendices: free Negro property owners in Petersburg in 1860 with the value of their property, its purchase price, and the date of purchase; and a list of free Negroes holding more than one hundred acres of land. In addition, there are frequent tabular presentations inserted in the text. Most of the entries in the useful eighteen-page index are under the names of individuals, counties and towns of Virginia, and trades and occupations.

The perfectionist can find some of the usual picayune inconsistencies and errors in hyphenation and in footnote and bibliographical references. These are not numerous enough to be irritating.

Historical Division, Army Air Forces

J. MERTON ENGLAND

The Year of Decision: 1846. By Bernard DeVoto. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943. Pp. xv, 538. Maps, bibliography. \$3.50.)

Eighteen hundred and forty-six was an eventful year in American history. Its primary *motif* was Manifest Destiny accompanied by an emigrant tide flowing westward. In the spring of this year Captain John C. Frémont held his *tête-à-tête* with Thomas O. Larkin at Monterey and later aided the *Californios* in driving General José Castro's troops out of northern California and in setting up the Bear Flag Republic. And across the plains from Nauvoo to Winter Quarters on the Missouri Mormon wagons were on the move and were not to stop until they had reached the Great Basin. Moreover, by early summer at Corpus Christi, San Antonio, and Ft. Leavenworth, American troops under Taylor, Kearny, Doniphan, and Wool had assembled to cross the Mexican frontiers to capture Monterrey, Santa Fe, and Chihuahua, objectives which they reached before the end of the year. With Kearny was the interesting fifth columnist, James Magoffin, who persuaded Armijo and Archuleta to allow Ameri-

can troops to enter Santa Fe unmolested and who then traveled southward to Mexico to prepare the way for peaceful penetration of Doniphan's army.

Bernard DeVoto's *The Year of Decision: 1846* is a fascinating narrative of all these movements, told with sparkling humor and in superb literary style. But its artistry is only in retouches. Justin H. Smith, George L. Rives, and others have already given us our picture. At points, Mr. DeVoto's narrative suffers from lack of balance and cohesion. For example, too much attention is devoted to characters of little importance in our Manifest Destiny story, such as James Clyman and Francis Parkman, and to the ill fortunes of the Donner party (see index). Indeed, more space is devoted to the Donners than to Frémont's or Taylor's expedition! This seems out of proportion. Then the author breaks his narrative with "interludes" which have little or no connection with his western theme (e.g., 103-106, 136-39, 215-21, 338-39). Most of the major human interest stories have been well exploited, but Frémont's clash with Don Angel Castro, as played up in *Niles' Register*, does not appear.

There are sentences here and there that need qualification: e.g., "The Texans had positively asserted it [the Rio Grande as a boundary] just once, in 1841" (p. 17); "What had prevented the British from accepting the several times offered compromise boundary of the 49th parallel . . ." (p. 23); "They [the previous presidents] had all tried to compromise the conflicting claims with the 49th parallel . . ." (p. 24); ". . . Frémont had given the West to the American people" (p. 39); "The sexual mores of the frontier were exceeding [*sic*] free" (p. 82); "His [General Scott's] egoism was colossal, his vanity was monstrous", (p. 204); and the reference to the failure of Wool's expedition (p. 233). The narrative is also marred by occasional literary wise-cracks (e.g., 207, 224, 232, 283). But these are minor flaws and are overshadowed by the book's general excellence.

The book's format is pleasing, and its maps, chapter notes, and index are satisfactory. But the "Statement on Bibliography" is vague, sketchy, and leaves much to be desired, and causes the reader to wonder if the author had access to more than well known published accounts.

University of Oklahoma

CARL COKE RISTER

Philip Pendleton Cooke. By John D. Allen. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. ix, 123. Illustrations, bibliography. \$2.00.)

There are ironical overtones in the foreword to this biography: "The present study was originally planned as a biographical introduction to an edition of Cooke's uncollected poetry and prose. . . . The project of an edition, however, has been postponed until more settled times; and in consequence this study . . . has been revised to present more interpretation than was at first thought neces-

sary. But . . . it remains mostly biography." In settled or in unsettled times, such a project as publishing the works of Philip Pendleton Cooke meets with slight favor from publishers or public. As we have contrived to conquer in part the bounds of space, we have become more and more confined within the immediacies of time, until from the older works only the strange, the peculiar, or the sensational gains attention. We dismiss Goethe as having nothing to say to the modern spirit and help to dredge up from oblivion the puerilities of Nostradamus.

Philip Pendleton Cooke was no Goethe, but neither was he a charlatan, as man or writer. He was a Virginia gentleman and sportsman, a sensitive poet, and a bold romancer. In his brief lifetime he published one book, *Froissart Ballads* (1847), and several novelettes, critical essays, and poems in the *Southern Literary Messenger* and similar magazines. His work is scattered and difficult to get hold of—either physically, or in the sense of a literary achievement.

Cooke's life was relatively uneventful, and in many ways typical. He was born into a good family, graduated from Princeton, studied law, and settled down to the onerous chore of making a living through law and farming. Like many of his neighbors, he broke the monotony by exciting hunting trips; unlike them, he broke it also by writing. It is the clean and convincing handling of this combination of the usual and the unusual which gives Mr. Allen's biography its importance in our cultural history. He points the contrasts enough that they emerge distinctly, each having its own validity.

But it is the fact that he was a-typical which gives individual importance to Cooke. Our evaluation of him depends upon our knowledge of his works: on such writings as the poem, "Life in the Autumn Woods," *The Gregories of Hackwood*, *The Chevalier Merlin*, and the keen criticism of Poe's work. Mr. Allen has given us the facts about these and other writings, and briefly related them to their time and tradition; in the longer, unpublished dissertation done at Vanderbilt University (1939), he has treated at length the specialized scholarly problems of Cooke's unsigned contributions to periodicals, of unpublished manuscript sketches, and of obscure biographical details. But this condensed reworking of the longer study contains a full bibliography, adequate documentation, and the essentials of Cooke's life; it supplies all that we need except a workable edition of Cooke's own writings. Mr. Allen has the edition ready; the opportunity of filling this important gap in our literature and culture is open to any regional or university press.

Arlington, Virginia

EDD WINFIELD PARKS

John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six. By James C. Malin. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1942. Pp. xii, 794. Appendix, bibliography, maps. \$5.00.)

In presenting this volume Dr. Malin observes that hitherto no writer has ever made a scientific study of John Brown and that no professional historian has ever written a biography of the man. This book is not a biography, and it is not a history of the controversies in Kansas Territory. It is on the other hand a meticulous analysis and a critical evaluation of the materials, both primary and secondary, from which such a biography or history might be written. The author's aim is to distinguish carefully between John Brown, the man, and the legend about John Brown; the purpose "is not to prove, to praise, or to condemn; it is to establish facts as objectively as possible."

In working toward his objective, Dr. Malin necessarily provides important information about Kansas, not only with reference to disturbances there, but particularly on matters of local geography, economics of frontier life, population, and the peculiar problems of the judiciary and law enforcement. In handling this controversial material, the author succeeds in maintaining a remarkable degree of objectivity, and he carefully avoids the temptation to explain what prevailing conditions and existing evidence have rendered unexplainable. For example, in referring to the question of provocation in the Kansas war, he concludes: "The conflict developed out of so complicated a course of events and over so long a period of time that it is futile to assume that there is such a thing as an initial aggressive act."

More particularly, the book provides information about John Brown himself, his purposes, his achievements—or lack of them—in Kansas, and his standing among his contemporaries in the free soil campaign. Prior to 1855 Brown had been involved in twenty distinct business ventures in six different states, most of them unsuccessful, some of them ending in bankruptcy, two in crime. His record was one of "flagrant dishonesty . . . in both business and family relations," and of "unreliability proven in court." Dr. Malin finds no contemporary evidence in support of the belief that John Brown went to Kansas with a preconceived mission to fight slavery; he went as an adventurous settler. In trying to determine precisely what Brown did in Kansas, Dr. Malin has gone into an exhaustive examination of the essential materials: the local press, the territorial documents, and the eastern press. His conclusion is as interesting as it is disturbing to popular stereotypes: "A full analysis of the main stream of Kansas history reveals beyond question the fact that in the contemporary printed record, John Brown did not appear to have had much influence either in making or in marring Kansas history. In no place did he appear as a major factor."

In bringing out the legendary character of John Brown's greatness, Dr. Malin finds that "it was through the spoken word disseminated by the Kansas agitators

that the Eastern public learned first of the mythical exploits of the leaders of the Kansas civil war, among them one Captain John Brown. . . ." The work of tracing the development of the legend calls for a painstaking survey of a mass of contemporary evidence and for an equally careful study of all existing biographies of Brown, from Redpath to Villard. Dr. Malin concludes that Redpath was a mendacious sensationalist: "scarcely anything in his book was true . . . he falsified the documentary record itself, inventing freely both incidents and details." As for Villard—who according to Commager "has said the last word on 'John Brown' "—Dr. Malin shows that he trusted uncritically to unreliable reminiscences. More serious still, Villard delegated the essential work of examining documents to Katherine Mayo. Dr. Malin does not say so, but Miss Mayo did not always appreciate the meaning or the importance of documents which she used.

From what has been said, some readers may assume that this book is simply one more addition to the unloved works of the debunking school of historians. No conclusion could be more completely erroneous. The book is revolutionary in its effect upon the place of John Brown in history, but this verdict rests directly upon the evidence. John Brown ceases to be the personification of the free soil movement in Kansas, and what remains provides little basis for hero worship. Every student of American history is deeply in debt to Dr. Malin for his careful work.

In tracing the growth of the legend of John Brown, Dr. Malin has paid some attention to the attitude of eastern admirers and supporters. For example, he finds Emerson's Tremont Temple address on Brown "false in almost every detail." But Emerson was not well acquainted with Brown, and having devoted himself so assiduously to abstract and vague thinking, he had lost the habit of respecting objective evidence. On the other hand, there were men in the East who did know Brown, and who found him a compelling personality and even an admirable character. Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Samuel Gridley Howe, and Edward Everett Hale were profoundly impressed by Brown. Gerrit Smith described him as "the man in all this world I think most truly a Christian." In Brown's correspondence and in his conversations with these backers and with others, there was indicated a strength of purpose and a capacity for consistent planning—albeit for an unattainable objective, sought by criminal means—which stands in strange contrast with his insignificant record in Kansas. Dr. Malin seems to underestimate the impression which Brown made upon these eastern enthusiasts. For the legend this material is indispensable, and it calls for the same type of exhaustive, scientific study to which Dr. Malin has subjected the documents dealing more directly with affairs in Kansas. When this has been done, the story of the growth of the legend should be complete.

The Life of Johnny Reb; The Common Soldier of the Confederacy. By Bell Irvin Wiley. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943. Pp. xiv, 444. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.75.)

It is perhaps strange that so fascinating a subject as the Life of Johnny Reb has been left undone until now. Innumerable volumes have appeared about the generals and leaders of the Confederacy; Southerners, Northerners, and foreigners have analyzed and reanalyzed the battles and campaigns of the Civil War; to the researcher it would appear that almost every participant who could construct a grammatical sentence—and some who could not—had left a volume of reminiscences on his war experiences. The data gleaned from these books of memoirs, but more particularly from countless unpublished letters of the common soldier scattered in southern archives and in private possession, have been fashioned by Mr. Wiley into a pattern of the daily life of the Confederate private. From what he wore to what he ate, from his weaknesses and faults to his valor and glories, from his struggle with pests to his bravery in battle, from his fears to his hopes, Johnny Reb stands before us. The mere titles of the chapters—some chosen with considerable imagination and a flair for the picturesque—suggest the hundred subjects which made up the daily routine and thought pattern of the rebel against “northern domination,” all presented with an objectivity and impartiality which does not refuse merited praise to Billy Yank or frank revelation of Johnny Reb’s sins of omission and commission. His besetting sins of gambling, of excessive drinking, of thievery, of swearing, though he would have recognized this evil more readily under the camp term of “cussing,” of Sabbath-breaking, more offensive to the mores of the time than to the present generation, and of sexual immorality, all receive frank and honest treatment. Under the chapter heading, “Bad Beef and Cornbread,” the reader is made to share the monotony of the diet, the execrable cooking, the restriction of the diet for days to hard, dry, parched corn until his own throat feels parched. Half-grown peaches, unripe blackberries, stewed grass and weeds yield first to mule meat, then to dog meat, and in the end to rats. Closely related to the declining diet was soldier morale, and so the author traces the morale from its heights of arrogant confidence to its sad decline in wholesale desertion.

Probably some Northerners will be surprised to learn, tutored as they have been to think of Confederates in gray, that the uniform prescribed by Richmond authorities in 1861 envisioned trousers of sky blue, though Mr. Wiley adds that “blue trousers seem to have been the rare exception.”

Here pranks and mirth, songs and snow-ball fights, dances and nostalgia, “graybacks,” which reappeared in World War I under the equally plebeian name of “cooties,” find a place; disease, terror and agony, courage and cowardice, exuberant buoyancy, provincialism, snobbishness, and democracy appear in this cross section of life in 1861-1865 as they do today. The propensity of the

soldier "to take pen in hand" to write to mother, sister, or sweetheart, or to burst into poor verse, together with complaints of lack of mail, suggest the same human traits which manifest themselves now in Guadalcanal or in the Aleutians.

The author has unearthed a wealth of fresh material on the intimate life of the Confederate soldier, which has certainly not before been deciphered from illiterate and almost illegible letters and assembled or organized into a usable form. There is an immense amount of quotation, desirable not only to give authenticity to the record but also to add vividness and flavor. To the reviewer one chapter seems out of place in a study devoted to the life of the soldier. Except for the description of the soldier's equipment, the long discussion in Chapter XVI on the production of arms for the Confederacy might well have been omitted, especially since much of what is here told has been discussed elsewhere. There appears a tendency to pile up instance after instance perhaps to an unnecessary degree, as in Chapter VII, where the lack of shoes and clothing is being impressed on the reader. There is some repetition. After the long discussion of card-playing in Chapter III a bare reference to it on page 161, calling attention to the earlier treatment, might have sufficed. One wonders, since Mr. Wiley states that no figures are available for the arms captured at Antietam and Shiloh, on what he bases his assertion that they must have exceeded 5,000 stand (p. 289). Undoubtedly the author did not intend to locate Tallahassee in Alabama (p. 287). Occasionally, material in the notes is important enough to merit a place in the text (notes 20, 25, 56, and 58 of Chapter XV). The index could with profit be somewhat fuller. A number of illustrations, some of which are enhanced in historical value by virtue of being reproductions of sketches by Confederate soldiers, add greatly to the book.

Mr. Wiley is to be congratulated on a task well done; he has produced a scholarly work, and has presented it in a readable, sprightly style which should attract a wider reading public than the usual piece of research commands.

Goucher College

ELLA LONN

Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command. Volume II, *Cedar Mountain to Chancellorsville.* By Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943. Pp. xlv, 760. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$5.00.)

The officers who resigned from the United States Army and joined the Confederacy can be divided into three general groups: (1) those who had begun their military service prior to about 1835; (2) those who entered the service between 1835 and 1850; and (3) those who were commissioned between 1850 and 1861. Some of the officers in important command in the Confederacy in the first year of the war, the period covered by Dr. Freeman's first volume, were drawn from the first group with a larger number coming from the second group.

Lee himself, the two Johnstons, and Samuel Cooper, the Adjutant General, were in the first group, as were Huger, Holmes, Magruder, Pendleton, and others. In the second group were Jackson, Longstreet, the two Hills, Ewell, Early, R. H. Anderson, and others who soon began to be noticed. It was from this second group that Lee's principal lieutenants came. Most of the members of this group had seen service in the Mexican War; most of them were old enough and had the judgment and experience needed for responsible command; most of them were young enough to have that adaptability and flexibility of mind and freshness of outlook needed to meet the many new tactical and strategical problems of large scale maneuver.

From the third group came the younger brigade and divisional commanders like Hood, Pender, Pegram, and Ramseur; many of the more capable artillery officers, including Stephen D. Lee, John Pelham, Alexander, and Beckham; and most of the cavalry leaders—Stuart, Fitzhugh and "Rooney" Lee, Rosser, Lomax, and Young. In fact the cavalry, under the dynamic and aggressive leadership of Jeb Stuart drew to itself the same type of enthusiastic, brave, action-seeking youth, that in the present World War II have gone into the Air Corps.

The testing of Lee's lieutenants as described by Dr. Freeman in his first volume ended with McClellan's withdrawal from the Peninsula in July, 1862. While contemplating his next move, Lee reorganized his army and made numerous changes among the brigade and divisional commanders. The campaign just completed had indicated the limitations and shortcomings of his officer personnel, and at the same time had marked those subordinates suited for advancement in rank and assignment to more important command.

The army of which Lee was made commander on June 1, 1862, was a collection of brigades operating individually or in divisional organizations under officers not of his choosing. In the next thirty days this assortment of men and organizations became an army in name and in fact. Tactical and administrative considerations caused Lee to divide his army roughly into two wings, under Longstreet and Jackson. When the campaigning of the summer of 1862 demonstrated that this arrangement could be improved upon, Lee organized his army as the First and Second Corps, headed respectively by Longstreet and Jackson, a division that was continued until after Jackson's death at Chancellorsville.

This second volume is largely an account of Jackson's growth and evolution to the full stature of one of modern military history's best known strategists and tacticians. Withal, he was a forceful, dynamic leader who knew what he wanted to accomplish and who was able to execute his strategical and tactical conceptions in a minimum of time and with the least loss of life. Jackson was the rapier with which Lee forced his opponent into situations where his other principal lieutenant, Longstreet, could bludgeon him into submission or retreat. Jackson's brilliant conceptions and masterly maneuvers, discussed with and approved by Lee, have always held the spotlight for the student and reader of

military history, but it should never be forgotten that Longstreet's hard-hitting attacks were a necessary complement to Jackson's brilliant maneuvering in order that they might be effective and successful. It was Lee's consummate genius that was able to understand, direct, and co-ordinate the movements of the sensitive Jackson and the hard-driving Longstreet to the successful attainment of the desired end. After Jackson's death this unusual combination was broken, never to be re-formed. The entire burden of command, in all its varied aspects, fell more and more upon Lee's shoulders, even as the odds of men and materials against him increased.

Lee, aided by Jackson and Longstreet, needed capable subordinates to aid in the execution of his plans. In this volume Dr. Freeman traces the rise of ever younger men, both with and without previous military experience, to positions of responsibility, indicating where and how they failed and where they succeeded and why. A. P. Hill, Hood, Rodes, Early, Gordon, and R. H. Anderson appear more often in the commendatory comments of Lee, Jackson, and Longstreet. In time they were to rise near to the top. Jeb Stuart in the cavalry and John Pelham in the artillery seemed destined for high rank and fame, but the latter's life was snuffed out just as he began to accelerate his climb to the heights.

This volume tells of the passing of the original and older lieutenants of Lee and of the rise to prominence of the new and younger lieutenants who were demonstrating on the field of battle their competence to command. Like the first volume, this book is based on an extended and careful study and interpretation of letters, diaries, reports, and special studies of the period. Because of the many individuals who move across Dr. Freeman's panorama, it would have been helpful to the general reader if a table showing the organization of the Army of Northern Virginia to the extent of indicating the brigade, divisional, and corps commanders had been included.

This second volume continues the high promise of the first and it is with keen expectation that we await the third and final volume. In this lengthy study of Lee's leadership and of his method of selecting his lieutenants and then getting the most possible from them Dr. Freeman is making an unusual contribution to American military history. This work will be read carefully by military men and students and civilians alike as an authoritative "Study in Command" which contains lessons that are universal in their use and application.

Locust Valley, New York

THOMAS ROBSON HAY

With Sherman to the Sea: The Civil War Letters, Diaries, and Reminiscences of Theodore F. Upson. Edited with an introduction by Oscar Osburn Winter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943. Pp. xxii, 181. Illustrations, map. \$2.25.)

This volume is an unconscious study both of the psychological origins of the Civil War and of the reactions of a common soldier to military life. One of its

most valuable contributions is a description of the emotional forces that agitated a little Indiana village, the home of Theodore Upson, on the eve of the Civil War. This rural community was aroused by a "red hot" Republican campaign with all the paraphernalia of popular excitement—slogans like "Bleeding Kansas," a Negro lecturer on the atrocities of southern slavery, the marching of Wide Awake Clubs, the singing of "John Brown's Body," and the asseveration that the South was bluffing about secession. Such excitation of these simple people reminds the reviewer of observing a similar phenomenon in Frankfurt, Germany, just before Hitler came into power. When the Civil War started, young men volunteered, as they have in all ages, for complex reasons—the lure of a uniform, the pressure of their friends, especially the girls, who virtually ostracized a stay-at-home male of military age, escape from civilian failure, the thrill of adventure, as well as patriotism. Upson gave as his motive for enlisting, to save the Union. The martial atmosphere was also the happy hunting ground for politicians like Governor Morton of Indiana, the soldiers' friend.

In the army an idealistic young man such as Upson, who was only seventeen when he enlisted, gradually succumbed to the venial military vices. Nevertheless, he wrote to his adopted father that the morals of Sherman's army were high—a clean bunch of men morally, who cared little for money. Upson's diary is a vivid bit of reporting, which presents silhouettes of the tragic side of war, such as the pile of amputated legs and arms "as big as a haystack" which he saw after the battle of Missionary Ridge; pictures of the humorous aspects of army life, such as fear of gray lice, or the fun of guarding four hundred southern factory girls who had been captured; and insights into the souls of unsophisticated soldiers, who refused to drink liquor before a battle, saying "if they were to be killed they wanted to die sober." Upson was a scout for a short while, and he describes how often the scouts obtained military information and aid from the Negroes.

His description of the spirit of Sherman's army marching through Georgia and the Carolinas is captivating to the imagination. Its spirit was derived from its leader, this general with a marvelous power to overcome obstacles, who becomes a very human man in the pages of this diary, grinning at a drunken soldier, uttering salty phrases, extremely cool and brave in battle. The army he led was cocky, with an utter contempt for the Confederate opposition. It is, indeed, amazing that the opposition of the Confederate forces was so weak, hardly more irritating than the gadflies which a horse brushes off with his tail. The common soldiers had a strong dislike for Negro troops and they delighted in playing pranks on the Negroes that followed the army. Upson refused a commission to lead black troops and he quotes his comrade's saying that "this war is a white man's fight." His diary tends to refute those who maintain that hate is a necessary requirement for successful fighting. He describes the frequent fraternization of Union and Confederate soldiers and their trade between the

lines. He recorded his own feeling, "I hate to have to fight such splendid fellows." His observations confirm Professor Wiley's statement in *The Life of Johnny Reb* that the Civil War had something of the flavor of a medieval tournament.

The editor of Upson's diary has done an excellent job in selecting colorful titles for the subdivisions of the diary, in checking its accuracy, and in pointing out certain interpolations that Upson later made in the diary, such as his denial that Columbia was fired by Sherman's army, and his quotation of the phrase, "war is hell," ascribed to Sherman. His introduction is a good factual narrative, but there is not a trace in it indicating an awareness that his readers are living in another great age of conflict and that the laboratory of war described in the pages of this diary throws any illumination on the identity of human nature under the stress of war.

Lafayette College

CLEMENT EATON

Confederate Mississippi: The People and Policies of a Cotton State in Wartime.

By John K. Bettersworth. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943. Pp. vii, 386. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.00.)

It is difficult to imagine any subject, except the military, left untouched in this scholarly, readable study of the political, social, and economic effects of the impact of the Civil War on Mississippi. The author regards the state "as a sort of microcosm of the cotton kingdom [representing] the heterogeny of Deep South economy, all the way from the Creoles and the hillfolks, who raised cotton largely to cover their nakedness, to the so-called slavocrats who raised cotton largely to cover their indebtedness." *Confederate Mississippi* should take a prominent place among those comparatively recent efforts of painstaking investigators to find out what really did happen in and to the Confederacy. Bettersworth's findings are largely in harmony with those of Owsley, Moore, Lonn, and others. He does not believe, however, that the issue of state rights played such a prominent and tragic role in Mississippi as it did in North Carolina and Georgia.

Almost a third of the volume deals with the economic side of Mississippi life, with wartime finance and financial collapse, with the struggle of the farmers and planters toward economic independence, and with the enormous trade through the lines which finally obtained official sanction. Governmental rationing and priorities to which we have recently been adjusting ourselves were practically unknown, although sporadic attempts were made to control production of food and cotton and even liquor. Many counties did become practically self-sustaining.

The most engaging chapters deal with disloyalty and the disloyal country, which included an amazingly large area in the state. Once more the ghost of the

Free State of Jones is laid, and, according to Bettersworth, "what passed for Unionism in the disloyal hills and swamps was very probably nothing more than a convenient label for a persistently independent backwoods spirit that from the days of shooting Federal revenue agents to the days of shooting Confederate cavalymen had resisted all attempts to meddle with its particular way of life." Sections on religion and humanitarianism, the social amenities, the press, literary pursuits, and education complete the book.

Notwithstanding his statement that, after the departure of President Barnard in 1861, the University of Mississippi "sank into obscurity," Mr. Bettersworth has produced an extremely sound, worth-while history of an important segment of the Confederacy.

University of Mississippi

JAMES W. SILVER

The Life of Jonathan M. Bennett: A Study of the Virginias in Transition. By Harvey Mitchell Rice. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943. Pp. xiii, 300. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.50.)

Jonathan McCally Bennett was an outstanding figure in the transition of western Virginia from an isolated region dependent on the east to a separate state with its own place in the life of the nation. Dr. Rice compares him to a sycamore tree which put out branches, sank roots and developed prominence, was uprooted by the Civil War, was replanted and attained second growth, reached maturity and distinction, and finally fell in honored old age. The comparison is not farfetched, for Bennett's nickname in politics actually was "The Tall Sycamore of Lewis County."

Bennett was never in the national limelight. The highest office he held was that of auditor of Virginia during the troubled years of the Civil War period. He performed his duties with unusual ability and for the first time made the position one of real importance in the state. But Bennett's influence was felt in ways perhaps less conspicuous than was the case with other leaders, yet with more lasting impression because of the many fields in which he interested himself. Banks, newspapers, turnpikes, railroads, mills, schools, churches, insane asylums—all benefitted from the active participation in their affairs of this versatile and energetic man. Dr. Rice suggests that under other circumstances—that is, if the Civil War had not come along, or even if Bennett had taken sides differently in that conflict—he might have become famous beyond the borders of his own state.

That Bennett was ahead of his time in some ways is indicated by two quite different incidents. In an effort to increase Virginia's revenue for the years 1858-1859, he advocated a general sales tax and so was "probably the first public official in America to recommend the tax plan that was to be used so

successfully in the twentieth century to shore up sagging state finances" (p. 108). Later, when he rebuilt his home in Weston, he had the house piped so he could use the natural gas which lay underground, although its commercial possibilities were not yet realized by others.

Bennett early developed an interest in land, and, even before he became well known, he owned several thousands of acres in different counties of the western country. One of the interesting aspects of his life is the fact that he was himself an able surveyor and personally marked off the boundaries of much of his holdings. Some of his property was seized and sold by the Radicals during the period when he was on the opposite side of the fence in the Civil War, but Dr. Rice remarks that he lost less than might have been expected in the circumstances. After the war, Bennett recognized the opportunities to land purchasers in West Virginia and was a leader in the movement to bring in German and Swiss settlers.

Professor Rice has written a complete appraisal of the career of a man who was outstanding in his place and time. Based on considerable manuscript material—including family letters and diaries—and on contemporary newspapers and documents, the study is a worth-while contribution to the incomplete history of the transition period in western Virginia. Every detail of every episode is described with painstaking care, and this occasionally slows up the action of the book, especially in the maze of financial matters revolving around Bennett's conduct of the auditorship. A further criticism of the volume is that nowhere does there emerge a picture of Bennett the man. There are occasional items about his houses, his library, his letter writing, and his participation in community life (p. 239), but these bits are so sandwiched among political or business activities that the reader has difficulty creating a personal portrait.

There are numerous notes arranged by chapters at the end of the book, and the bibliography lists the sources for the history of the period. The index is complete and usable.

Maryland Historical Society

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Tennessee Senators as Seen by One of Their Successors. By Kenneth McKellar. (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1942. Pp. viii, 625. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

Senator McKellar states that he became interested in his predecessors while he was making a study of the expulsion of William Blount from the United States Senate in 1797. As his research continued and the material accumulated, he decided to write brief sketches of all Tennessee senators who are not still living. The work was done, as all historical works should be done, for the real joy of doing it. His book was brought to completion with the hope "that the gracious people of Tennessee will like the work."

The book consists of forty-four chapters, of which the first four are introductory, and the last, entitled "Conclusion," is a comparison of some Tennessee and Massachusetts senators serving contemporaneously at various times. The comparison is made with good taste and finesse. The introductory chapters discuss the United States Senate; the name Tennessee; the State of Franklin; and East Tennessee mountaineers. The first of these is important mainly because of the light which it throws on his own concept of the responsibilities and constitutional duties which rest upon the Senate. A good case is made for unlimited debate and for freedom of press, radio, and motion pictures, all of which are at times used, perhaps unwittingly, to disparage representative democracy. The author, with all thoughtful people, feels that the picture, "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," is "a libel on the United States Senate," and yet his discussion leaves one with the feeling that a distinguished member of the body senses something wrong.

The chapters on the name Tennessee and the State of Franklin are summaries and quotations from more extensive secondary works. The chapter on East Tennessee mountaineers can hardly be considered pertinent to the rest of the book. It is a defense against statements made by three critics of East Tennessee, in which the criticisms seem dragged in and the answers somewhat superfluous. If "Sissie" Patterson ever got off a train in Roane County, the natives there probably had as great a laugh at her as she had at them.

The remainder of the book is a series of sketches of thirty-nine men who have represented Tennessee in the Senate, omitting, as he says, "the six of us who are now living." The sketches can readily be divided into two groups: the ones with whom Senator McKellar has had a personal acquaintance, and those who served before his time. On the earlier senators the sketches are stilted, and usually lacking in both detail and interpretation. Style and interest change, however, when the author begins to write about those who have been friends and colleagues. Here many incidents and stories creep in which add much to the value of the sketches.

The reader may find in these sketches many interesting, and sometimes trivial, details. For example, he may read that, in Senator McKellar's opinion, William Blount was not in a conspiracy, but was a "scapegoat" for some schemes cooked up by Alexander Hamilton, Timothy Pickering, and the British minister; that one senator, when forty, married a girl of fifteen; that in 1913 Newell Sanders erected a monument at the unmarked grave of Joseph Anderson, one of his predecessors; that the responsibility for the passage of the act ratifying the woman suffrage amendment in Tennessee in 1920 rests upon T. K. Riddick; and that Senator McKellar will not touch a mint julep, even though it be expertly prepared and served by a close friend.

The sketches are not definitive or critical. The author did not intend them

to be. They are written in the first person. Many long quotations from newspapers and the *Congressional Record* are insufficiently digested. There is no index or bibliography; but excellent photographs of many of the senators are reproduced. There are few errors of any import. The comparison of the United States Senate with the British House of Lords suffers because the writer ignores the Parliament Act of 1911. The State of Franklin was named for Benjamin Franklin, but his fame was not because he had been "Governor of Pennsylvania."

The book is in many ways refreshing. While it brings together considerable information about the senators from Tennessee, its main contribution is in the revelation which it provides of the author himself, an able man who has been a successful lawyer, a great advocate, and a man of power and influence throughout a long career of public service.

Maryville College

VERTON M. QUEENER

George Washington Carver: An American Biography. By Rackham Holt. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1943. Pp. viii, 340. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.50.)

The names of two men who were born in slavery and who won international recognition are associated with Tuskegee Institute. These are Booker T. Washington, creative educator, and George Washington Carver, creative scientist. Each was a genius in his own way, and their two ways were clearly complementary in wholesome human results. Dr. Carver died last January, but fortunately this biography had been in process for over three years, and so Mrs. Holt's book has all the features of a living story. It has certain earmarks both of timeliness and timelessness.

This story is written for the general reader. It is entirely devoid of footnotes, but is sprinkled with anecdotes. It lists a bibliography of only eighteen items, but has twenty-three illustrative photographs by P. H. Polk, photographer of Tuskegee Institute. It portrays the versatile Carver as an artistic scientist and a scientific artist, too busy with natural beauty for concern as to personal apparel and too busy with humanity for concern in matters matrimonial. It catalogues his achievements, which are too numerous for description. In developing over three hundred products from the peanut, Dr. Carver is unsurpassed in showing his region the way out of the one-crop system. He came to Tuskegee from Iowa State College for greater service to his own race. But there was no racial barrier in his science or his scientific soul. The whole South is indebted to him.

It seems to this reviewer that the biographer, with her great subject, might have made less effort to point a moral and adorn a tale. A simple story would have carried its own moral and revealed adequate adornment.

Vanderbilt University

H. C. NIXON

The Caribbean Policy of the United States, 1890-1920. By Wilfrid Hardy Callcott. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. xiv, 524. Bibliography. \$3.50.)

These Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History (1942) continue the high standard set over the period of the last forty years. Dr. Callcott's thesis is that the Caribbean policy was the central theme of American foreign affairs for the years indicated and that actions taken under it were "not the result of applying the policies of any particular political party." Settlements effected by the two major parties had "many features in common and the whole program fell into a pattern and somewhat unconsciously formed a policy for the nation."

The introductory chapter traces the slow recognition of the Caribbean as an American "sphere of influence." North American trade interest in the area was evident from the beginning, but official actions were largely limited to preventing European naval powers from gaining territorial footholds. The State Department pronounced against the transfer of Cuba from Spanish sovereignty; President Monroe warned Europe against further colonization in the Western Hemisphere and against an intervention in the Spanish colonial struggle. Yet Great Britain was permitted to "steal the show" at the Panama Congress (1826) and continued to expand its trade, territory, and influence in the area. Then came Yankee interest in Isthmian canal routes and the acquisition of Texas and the Far West from Mexico. Washington began to bestir itself. Filibusters to Cuba and Central America were still more active. During the Civil War the Monroe Doctrine was challenged both by Spain in the Dominican Republic and by France in Mexico. Secretary Seward was forced by circumstances to acquiesce. But, with the return of peace, he moved with energy to tie up the canal routes, purchase the Virgin Islands, and secure naval bases in the Caribbean. With congressional defeat of this program, Seward and his successors returned to the policy of protest against rumors of transfers of sovereignty in the area. The activity of De Lesseps and the Panama Canal Company aroused Washington again. But it was not until 1889-1890 that a real official policy based on genuine interest began to emerge. With it came also a conviction that whatever the policy the United States was powerful enough to enforce it. Only vigorous leadership was needed.

In Chapter II, Dr. Callcott describes how America of the 1890's assumed the "Burden of Empire" through war. Expansion was "natural, necessary, and irrepressible." America must take on the "White Man's Burden." The Caribbean must inevitably become the "American Mediterranean." The British were forced to arbitrate their boundary dispute with Venezuela and the Spaniards were driven out of Cuba and Puerto Rico. These things were scarcely accomplished before American diplomacy came under the guidance of the able and aggressive hands of Theodore Roosevelt and John Hay.

The acquisition or "taking" of the Panama Canal route meant for America the "Assumption of New Position" (Chapter III). All approaches to the proposed canal must be kept out of aggressive European hands. This definitely required American priority in the Caribbean. Great Britain proved conciliatory, but Germany had ambitions—and rumor exaggerated these.

The Roosevelt Administration inherited the task of organizing the "Dependencies" (Chapter IV). The Puerto Ricans were a proud though poor people. Americans were inexperienced in colonial administration and sometimes insolent in their dealings with other peoples. The Cuban situation was still more complicated. The able hand of Elihu Root was called upon to meet the many problems. His record here was honorable, but not popular with those affected by his policies. By 1905, Roosevelt had formulated his famous corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and provided for fiscal intervention in the Dominican Republic—to prevent European intervention for the collection of defaulted debts. Contrary to Roosevelt's claims, however, his policies had little real connection with the Monroe Doctrine. Actually a new and parallel policy was developing in the Caribbean.

This policy of "Masterful Cooperation" (Chapter V) for the preservation of order and prosperity was the guiding principle of Roosevelt's second administration. Cuba (second intervention, 1906-1909), Dominican Republic, and Central America felt the effects of Washington's guiding hand; but efforts were made to smooth relations with Colombia regarding the Panama Affair of 1903.

The "Dollar Diplomacy" of President Taft and Secretary Knox (Chapter VI) created new and more intense fear of the United States in Latin America. Bankers were encouraged to make loans in that area for the sake of stability. In turn, these bankers expected and secured the application of strong measures to protect the loans. Although Taft denied the evil connotations of "Dollar Diplomacy," there was real fear of American capital. To all of this Great Britain had no objections, since it meant added protection for its interests.

The "Paternal Despotism" of the Wilson Administration (Chapters VII, VIII) continues to bewilder students of American foreign relations. Wilson was certainly opposed to Dollar Diplomacy. He also gave Latin America assurances that his nation desired no more territory. Yet he recognized the Caribbean area as an American sphere of influence. Even so, he was ready to co-operate even to the point of partial continentalization of the Monroe Doctrine. He emphasized Pan Americanism, proposed the famous Pan American Pact, supported Secretary Bryan's "Cooling Off Treaties," and accepted Latin American mediation in the application of his Mexican policy. Yet Wilson forcibly intervened in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and ordered the bombardment of the Mexican port of Vera Cruz.

Partial explanation of the Wilsonian inconsistencies lies in the President's

habit of giving his secretaries of state a free hand in most Caribbean matters until complications became serious. By that time events had already crystallized policy. After 1914 the fear of Germany was a real factor. So "the logic of events" often drove the "administration of the idealist Wilson into the adoption of a realistic policy." It might be said, however, that the ultimate end of his policy was democratic government, not permanent American control.

During the World War (Chapter IX) "Paternal Despotism" found added justification in the necessities of American defense. But, with the War closed, "self-government as a principle was once more followed as the basis of the administration's actions wherever practicable." Therefore, "in spite of contradictions people with a perspective can feel that the program was harmonious."

The book is liberally sprinkled with able, apt, and pithy characterizations—T. Roosevelt (p. 116), Root (pp. 117, 212), Taft (p. 258), Knox (pp. 258-59), Bryan (pp. 310-11), and Wilson (pp. 311, 377, 430, 494). The bibliography (17 pp.) is impressive and the index is quite full. A high grade of scholarship is evident throughout the work.

Berea College

E. T. PARKS

Historical News and Notices

After careful consideration of present and possible conditions within the region as the result of war activities, the Executive Council of the Southern Historical Association has reluctantly reached the decision that it will not be advisable to attempt to hold the annual meeting of the Association this fall. If it seems necessary, a meeting of the Council itself may be held to transact any business which requires official action. The Association will, of course, continue its organization and it is hoped that the individual members will maintain their interest in its work in order that it may be possible to resume normal activities as quickly as possible after the close of the war. In the meantime, the members themselves can make substantial contributions toward the promotion of the Association's objectives through the preparation of papers for publication in the *Journal of Southern History*. Every effort will be made to maintain this one remaining symbol of the Association's interests on as high a level as possible.

PERSONAL

The April, 1943, issue of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Vol. XLVI, No. 4) contains the proceedings of the presentation by the Texas State Historical Association of a portrait of Professor Eugene C. Barker, done by Robert Joy, to the University of Texas. The presentation address by J. Evetts Haley gives a realistic picture of the man who has for more than four decades been a guiding spirit of the department of history of the University, and Dr. Barker's acknowledgment is entirely characteristic in its modest tone, subtle humor, and brevity. The presentation of the portrait and its accompanying ceremonies grew directly out of the desire of the members of the Association to commemorate Dr. Barker's having served as editor of the *Quarterly* for a period of twenty-seven years.

In the same issue (pp. 360-68) there appears a complete record of the books and articles published by Dr. Barker, compiled by H. Bailey Carroll, the present editor of the *Quarterly*.

James W. Patton has been promoted to the rank of professor of history and head of the department at North Carolina State College.

Walter P. Webb of the University of Texas, who has recently returned from a year's service as Harmsworth Professor of American History in Oxford Uni-

versity, England, has been selected by the Board of Regents of the University of Texas to hold the University Research Professorship for 1943-1944.

At the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Associate Professor Eugene E. Pfaff has been granted a leave of absence to serve as executive secretary of the Southern Council on International Relations; Elizabeth Cometti has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor; and Charlotte Williams, who for the past two years has been councillor and part-time member of the history department, has received a Rosenwald fellowship for graduate study at the University of Chicago.

James W. Foster, associate head of the Maryland House at the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore, has been appointed director of the Maryland Historical Society, and William D. Hoyt, Jr., formerly on the staff of the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia, and recently a member of the faculty of Governor Dummer Academy, South Byfield, Massachusetts, has been made assistant director.

Cecil Johnson, associate professor of history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed acting dean of the General College.

Fred H. Harrington, professor of history at the University of Arkansas, has received a John Simon Guggenheim fellowship for 1943 for a study of diplomatic aspects of the growth of American enterprise abroad, with emphasis upon the formative years, 1865-1900.

Henry S. Stroupe, on leave as associate professor of history at Wake Forest College, has been commissioned to instruct in the Navy Pre-Flight School at the University of North Carolina.

Arthur S. Link and Bennett H. Wall, graduate students at the University of North Carolina, are serving as instructors in history in the Army Air Crew Training Program at North Carolina State College.

Henry T. Shanks, professor of history at Birmingham-Southern College, has been appointed dean of the College.

Blanche Henry Clark has been appointed assistant professor of history at Vanderbilt University in addition to her duties as dean of women.

William G. Bean of Washington and Lee University is teaching in the summer school of the University of Virginia.

Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States, 1791-1812, edited by Bernard Mayo, has just been published by the American Historical Association as Volume III of its *Annual Report* for 1936.

Edmund C. Burnett has received second prize for his *The Continental Congress* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941) in the Loubat Award for 1943. This award is given every five years "for the best work printed and published in the English language on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America." The first prize went to S. G. Morley for his *The Inscriptions of Peten*, a work in the field of archaeology.

Members of the staff of the National Archives who have recently been transferred or detailed to historical specialist, records officer, or similar positions in other Government agencies include Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr., Special Assistant to the Archivist, to the War Production Board; Robert D. Hubbard, Executive Officer, to the Navy Department; Martin P. Claussen, of the Division of Labor Department Archives, and Nona-Murray Lucke, of the office of the Assistant Director of Records Accessioning and Preservation, to the War Department; Carl L. Lokke, of the Office of Research and Records Description, to the Petroleum Administration for War; Stuart Portner, of the Division of War Department Archives, to the War Relocation Authority; and Albert H. Leisinger, Jr., of the Division of State Department Archives, and Albert Post, of the Division of Labor Department Archives, to the Board of Economic Warfare. Members of the staff who have recently entered the armed or auxiliary services include Herbert E. Angel, Frank E. Bridgers, Ernest R. Bryan, Robert Claus, Chester L. Guthrie, Fred C. Halley, Alfred C. Proulx, Charles L. Stout, and Eunice Whyte.

David Yancey Thomas, head of the department of history at the University of Arkansas from 1912 until his retirement in 1940, died in Austin, Texas, on April 18, 1943, at the age of 71. A native of Kentucky, he received his academic training at Emory University and Vanderbilt University, and took his doctorate at Columbia University in 1903. Before going to the University of Arkansas he had taught at Hendrix College and at the University of Florida, and at the time of his death was serving as visiting professor of political science at the University of Texas. A scholar by instinct and training, he made substantial contributions to historical knowledge through numerous articles in professional journals and through the publication of several books, the best-known of which are: *History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States* (1904); *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine* (1923); *Arkansas in War and Reconstruction* (1926); and *Arkansas and Its People: A History* (4 vols., 1930). In his later years he was largely responsible for reviving the activities of the Arkansas Historical Association, and from the founding of the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* in 1942 he had served as its editor.

Allen Culling Clark, an insurance executive of Washington, D. C., and for more than a quarter of a century the president of the Columbia Historical So-

ciety, died on May 16 at the age of 85. His active interest in the history of the capital city and the District of Columbia was shown in the preparation of biographical sketches of many of the early mayors and other important personalities of Washington, and in the publication of numerous books and articles, among them being: *William Duane* (1905), *Life and Letters of Dolly Madison* (1914), *Abraham Lincoln in the National Capital* (1925), *Origin of the Federal City* (1935), and *Robert Mills, Architect and Engineer* (1940).

The death of Albert Bushnell Hart on June 16, at the age of 88, removes one of the most widely known figures of the historical profession. As a member of the departments of history and government at Harvard University from 1883 to 1926, and professor emeritus since 1926, his influence as teacher, writer, and editor has been felt wherever American history was studied. He was author, joint author, or editor of more than one hundred volumes of historical works, ranging from scholarly monographs to high school textbooks, and including guides, source books, and atlases which are still in general use. Apparently interested for a time in problems related to the history of the South, he published *Slavery and Abolition* (1906) and *The Southern South* (1910), both of which have since been superseded by the results of more extensive research activities by others in the southern field. His contribution as a promoter of co-operative projects is illustrated in such works as *The American Nation: A History* (28 vols., 1903-1918); *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* (5 vols., 1927-1929); and *American History Leaflets* (1895-1913).

Leonard Clinton Helderman, professor of history at Washington and Lee University, died at his home on July 10, after a week's illness. Born in Vincennes, Indiana, in 1895, he served in the army during World War I, and after his return to civilian life graduated from Indiana State Teachers College in 1921. He then went to the University of Wisconsin for graduate study, and received the Ph.D. degree at that institution in 1929. He became assistant professor of history at Washington and Lee University in 1925, and was promoted to associate professor in 1929 and to professor in 1938. The fields of his special interest were the Old South and American constitutional development, in which his courses are remembered for their scholarly content, thoroughness, and originality. He was an active participant in the work of the Southern Historical Association, having appeared on the programs of its annual meetings and published articles in the *Journal of Southern History*. Scholarly papers by him also appeared in other historical journals, and he was the author of two books: *National and State Banks: A Study of Their Origins* (1931), and *George Washington, Patron of Learning* (1932). A study of the career of George Tucker as a social scientist and historian at the University of Virginia during its formative period, on which he had been working for some time, is left unfinished, and in his death the historical profession has lost an able and valuable member. [Allen W. Moger]

Lieutenant Lester Coolidge Dickinson, assistant professor of history at The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, was drowned on July 19 in an attempt to rescue others at a swimming beach near Charleston. Born in Warrensburg, New York, in 1908, he received the A.B. and M.A. degrees at George Washington University, and from 1936 to 1941 was a member of the history department at Elon College, North Carolina. At the beginning of the war he was a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, but his graduate studies and his dissertation on the public career of Willie P. Mangum were interrupted by his entry into military service and his assignment to teaching duty at The Citadel, in September, 1942.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on April 22, 23, and 24, with a surprisingly good attendance. Among the sessions were one on Thomas Jefferson and one on "Some Timely Phases of the Civil War and Reconstruction." A resolution adopted at the business meeting provided for the appointment of a committee to act in co-operation with a similar committee of the American Historical Association in studying "the current controversy concerning the teaching of American history." The committee which has been named consists of Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, and Theodore C. Blegen, President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, as co-chairmen; Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota, director; and the following members: O. Fritiof Ander, Augustana College, Harold W. Bradley, Stanford University, Philip Davidson, Vanderbilt University, Dwight L. Dumond, University of Michigan, John D. Hicks, University of California, Harold M. Long, Glens Falls, New York, Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, and Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University, with Louis Pelzer, University of Iowa, as alternate.

The Texas State Historical Association held its forty-seventh annual meeting at Austin on April 22, 23, and 24 in connection with the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Texas Folk-Lore Society. The papers presented dealt primarily with topics of Texas history and tradition, among them being one on "Railroad Development in the Republic of Texas," by Andrew F. Muir; one on "The Personnel of the Men of the Mier Expedition," by Houston Wade; one on "Hamilton P. Bee's Trip to the Indians of North Texas," by Rudolph L. Biesele; one on "The National Road in Texas," by J. W. Williams; and one on "The Mormon Church in Texas," by C. Stanley Banks. The principal theme of the folklore sessions centered around traditions and experiences in the oil fields of the region with some attention being given also to Spanish and Czech folklore.

Continuing its policy of giving special consideration to present day problems, the Maryland Historical Society devoted its meeting of May 10 to the naval side of the war. Rear Admiral W. H. P. Blandy, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, U. S. N., and James V. Forrestal, Under-Secretary of the Navy, addressed the Society on problems related to the Navy's activities, and Hamilton Owens, Editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, described the construction and career of the *Defence*, Baltimore's first naval vessel, during the Revolution, and showed how the outfitting of that ship was the precedent for Baltimore's present position in naval construction.

A special meeting of the Society was held on June 7 in honor of the Merchant Marine, with addresses by Rear Admiral Emory S. Land, Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission, and Senator Josiah W. Bailey, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce, and of a special committee investigating conditions in the Merchant Marine. An exhibition of ship models and other maritime items of Maryland interest was arranged especially for this meeting.

The program of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History for the collection of war records includes a drive to secure contemporary newspapers. As a result of this drive the State Library is now receiving and preserving 170 of a total of 203 newspapers published in the state. Twenty-five camp newspapers are being received, including those from WAAC and Civilian Public Service camps. A file of Civilian Defense publications is being maintained. Collections have been received from the Asheville Chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, from the North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers, and from other organizations. A number of letters from men in the service have been obtained.

At the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, which was held in Jacksonville in March, papers were presented by Alton C. Morris on "Folk Songs of Florida and their Cultural Backgrounds"; John M. Sweeney on "Some Aspects of Steamboat Navigation on the St. Johns River"; and T. Frederick Davis on "Jacksonville's War Time History." One entire session was given over to reports from local historical societies in the state. William T. Cash presented a report for the Tallahassee Historical Society; Carita Doggett Corse for the Jacksonville Historical Society; X. L. Pellicer for the St. Augustine Historical Society; and Thomas P. Caldwell for the Historical Association of Southern Florida.

Officers elected for the ensuing year are: Gaines R. Wilson, Miami, president; John B. Stetson, Jr., DeLand, and Philip S. May, Jacksonville, vice-presidents; Albert C. Manucy, St. Augustine, recording secretary and treasurer; Watt Marchman, St. Augustine, corresponding secretary and librarian (on leave); Mrs. A. Johnson, St. Augustine, acting corresponding secretary and librarian; Richard

P. Daniel, Jacksonville, Wiley R. Reynolds, Palm Beach, Karl Bickel, Sarasota, and Charles T. Thrift, Jr., Florida Southern College, directors. Julien C. Yonge of Pensacola continues as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Newly elected officers of the Historical Association of Southern Florida are: John C. Gifford, president; Mrs. Henry J. Egger and George C. Estill, vice-presidents; Justin P. Havee, recording secretary; Gaines R. Wilson, corresponding secretary; and Thomas P. Caldwell, treasurer. George W. Rosner is in charge of the library, which is housed at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, and Carlton W. Tebeau of the University of Miami is the new editor of the Association's journal, *Tequesta*.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

The American Historical Association has recently issued as Volume III of its *Annual Report* for 1941, the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at Universities in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, December, 1941*. In a brief foreword Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary of the Association, states that this "will presumably be the last *List* for the duration of the war and perhaps longer until normal conditions in the scholarly world have been resumed." Since those dissertations listed previously and still in progress in 1941 are included only by reference to their number in the preceding list, it is not possible to obtain a complete picture of doctoral dissertations in preparation from the 1941 list alone. The number of active projects listed by title or reference totals 1091, of which 597 are on some phase of the history of the United States. Of interest to the readers of the *Journal* is the fact that 148 of these projects are on topics in southern history and biography. Some of the studies have, of course, been completed since 1941, and it is probable that work on most of the others has been interrupted by calls to service in the armed forces.

The University of Kentucky has received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a comprehensive study of travelers' accounts relating to the South. Under the direction of Professor Thomas D. Clark, preliminary plans are being formulated for the compilation of a critical bibliography of travel accounts covering the whole period of southern history. Fourteen southern scholars have been assigned a definite period in which to work, and a bibliographical form has been prepared for their guidance. Their work will be reviewed through a clearing committee and will then be prepared for publication. It is expected that this bibliographical volume will contain a complete list of the major published traveler materials on the South, including brief biographical sketches of the travelers. Plans are also being made for a second volume, containing excerpts from some of the travel accounts. This volume will be of a critical nature and

will be designed primarily to meet the demands of individuals and of small libraries which cannot afford to obtain the originals. A third volume is also being planned in which an attempt will be made to provide a check list of unpublished travel materials reposing in the various libraries of this country and, if it becomes possible, to include materials in foreign libraries.

The Alderman Library of the University of Virginia has acquired a valuable collection of McDowell papers; the McDowells having been one of the important pioneering families in the Valley of Virginia.

Among the recent acquisitions of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History are ten additional volumes of court records of the period from 1786 to 1857 from the clerk of court in Orange County. These include court of equity records; superior court minutes of Hillsborough District; appearance and trial dockets; inventories; guardian accounts; and superior court minutes of Orange County. The Department has also received from the Genealogical Society of Utah 108 rolls of films, as follows: 58 rolls of Rowan County records, 27 rolls on Anson County, and 23 rolls on Bladen County. These films include wills, deeds, inventories of estates, and other records.

The Treasure Room of Emory University Library was formally opened at a recent meeting of the Atlanta Historical Society held in the library. In this room are special collections, rare books, and memorabilia. Outstanding among the collections are the Tracy W. McGregor Collection of Early Americana; the Keith M. Read Collection of Confederate Americana, consisting of Confederate imprints, books, and other printed material about the Civil War, and approximately ten thousand manuscripts relating to the Confederacy; the Wesley Collection, including manuscripts of John and Charles Wesley and other Methodist leaders; the Candler Collection, in which are the manuscripts, and much of the correspondence, of the late Bishop Warren Akin Candler.

The National Archives has continued to receive many groups of Agriculture Department records as a result of the Department's decision to transfer all its non-current records of administrative value and historical interest. The recent accessioning of the general files of the Bureau of Home Economics, 1917-1937, marked the completion of the transfer of the inactive central records of all the major Agriculture Department bureaus. Other accessions from the Department include the general files of the Commodity Exchange Administration and its predecessor, the Grain Futures Administration, 1921-1939, the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation and its predecessor, the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, 1933-1940, and the Office of Civilian Conservation Corps Activities, 1933-1942.

Naval records in The National Archives are constantly being supplemented by transfers from the Department at Washington and to a less extent from the

field. From the Navy Yard at Philadelphia have come records relating to its history and administration, including a "Waste Book," 1794-1801, containing an account of receipts and disbursements of timber, iron, rum, and money and references to some of the first ships to be built for the Navy; letters from the Navy Commissioners, 1827-1831; logbooks of activities at the yard, 1841-1899; Commandant's orders, 1860-1865; communications from the Secretary of the Navy, 1851, 1891-1896, and copies of letters to him, 1836-1852, 1881-1900; and navy yard and departmental orders, 1894-1913. The Philadelphia Naval Aircraft Factory has transferred a large series of correspondence, 1925-1930, on policy, organization, and administration. From the Department at Washington have come the main correspondence files of the Office of the Secretary, 1932-1940; records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General, consisting of proceedings of General Courts Martial and of Courts of Inquiry and Boards of Investigation, 1916-1930, and of Examining and Retiring Boards, 1940-1941; correspondence and other records of the Bureau of Ordnance, 1905-1926; and microfilm copies of engineering logs, 1917-1942, of the Bureau of Ships.

Notable among other recent accessions are the general correspondence files of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1822-1935; Coast Guard records, 1838-1941, consisting of vessel logs, station journals, correspondence, and fragmentary Lighthouse records of Puerto Rico (1838-1890) and of the Virgin Islands (1911-1917); records of the former Consular Bureau of the State Department concerning American citizens abroad, 1914-1920; records of the former Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics, 1918-1919, including reports to the President and copies of data sent to the Peace Conference; records of the War Department Offices of the Surgeon General, 1928-1937, and the Chief Signal Officer, 1920-1942; and the unpublished final report of the Director General of the discontinued Army Specialist Corps, 1942.

Recent publications of The National Archives designed to facilitate the work of agencies engaged in the prosecution of the war include a *Preliminary Inventory of the War Labor Policies Board Records*, compiled by Mary Walton Livingston and Leo Pascal, and two *Special Lists*: No. 3, *Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Relating to the United States Military Government of Cuba, 1898-1902, and the United States Provisional Government of Cuba, 1906-1909*, compiled by Kenneth Munden, and No. 4, *Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Relating to Puerto Rico, 1898-1934*, compiled by Kenneth Munden and Milton Greenbaum. These *Special Lists* are intended to facilitate the study of problems of the administration of occupied territories.

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1941, Volume I (Washington, 1942), contains a "List of Manuscript Accessions in Various Depositories in the United States Received during the Year 1940," pre-

pared by the Historical Records Survey and compiled and edited by Margaret S. Eliot. The list, containing information on 1278 titles ranging from one piece to several volumes, is arranged by states and by libraries or depositories within each state.

The National Association of State Libraries announces the publication of a Supplement to its *Check List of Legislative Journals of the States of the United States of America*. This Supplement has been compiled by William S. Jenkins, of the department of political science of the University of North Carolina, who has served during the past two years as director of the Legislative Journals Microfilm Project, of the Library of Congress, and has made a search for these journals in libraries, archives, and private collections throughout the nation. The Supplement, according to a statement issued by the Association, "lists four classes of legislative journals: printed journals for sessions marked 'not found' in the Check List and now located; journals in manuscript, for individual sessions where printed copies cannot be found and for periods when they were not published; and contemporaneous reports of the proceedings of the sessions published in newspapers where the original manuscript is not extant." Containing over 500 pages, the Supplement is offered for sale at \$5.00.

The Texas State Historical Association announces that for the past six or eight months its staff has been busily engaged in setting up the subjects which should be included in a *Handbook of Texas*. It is expected that when completed the *Handbook* will be an encyclopedia of Texas history, biography, and culture. It has been the hope of the Association from the beginning that this project might be as much as possible the work of the whole people of Texas and of those interested in Texas. The staff will welcome suggestions from any source of topics which are deemed worthy of treatment, or of persons best qualified to write on particular topics. More than six thousand subject cards have already been put in the files, and there are still many topics yet to be covered.

The Building of Castillo de San Marcos, by Albert C. Manucy, published by the National Park Service of the Department of Interior (Washington, 1942), is an account, based mainly upon material in the Spanish records of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, of the factors involved in the construction of this fortification at St. Augustine in the latter part of the seventeenth century and of its significance in the defense of Spanish Florida during the eighteenth century. A map, several drawings, and numerous photographs increase the value of the publication.

The *Susquehanna University Studies*, Volume II, Number 3 (March, 1943), contains an article on "Disfranchisement in Alabama under Radical Reconstruction," by William A. Russ, Jr., professor of history at Susquehanna University.

The Education of a Gentleman; Jefferson Davis at Transylvania, 1821-1824 (Lexington: Buckley and Reading, 1943, pp. xvii, 53), by Margaret Newnan Wagers, is a handsomely printed booklet which undertakes to examine "the cosmopolitan and varied influences at Transylvania which helped shape the career of Jefferson Davis and the other young men who were destined to play an important part in the life of their country and in the history of the South." The author suggests that there is little evidence available at the present time either to substantiate or disprove the speculation that Davis learned his ideas of secession at Transylvania University. The book contains a five-page bibliography and an "Index of Personal Names."

The *Furman Bulletin* for May, 1943, published by Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina, contains two items of interest to students of southern history. "Letters of William Gilmore Simms to James H. Hammond, 1847-1850," edited by Alfred T. Odell, consists of seven letters written by Simms on political matters which throw additional light on the political career of John C. Calhoun. "The Dodson Letters—Migration of a South Carolina Family to Texas in the 1850's," edited by Delbert H. Gilpatrick and William F. Bagwell, presents a group of letters ranging over the period from 1857 to 1866 written from Elysian Fields, Texas, to members of the family in South Carolina, in which considerable light is thrown upon living conditions in eastern Texas during the period of the Civil War.

The second brochure of the new Emory University series, *Sources and Reprints*, is "The Diary of a Voyage to China, 1859-1860, By the Reverend Young J. Allen," edited by Arva Colbert Floyd. This is the simple and unpolished record kept by a young Georgia minister of the experiences of himself and his family from November 21, 1859, to July 26, 1860, while making the trip from New York around the Cape of Good Hope and through the Indian Ocean to Canton, China, where he was to begin his service as a missionary. A brief introductory statement by the editor provides the broader setting and gives information on Allen's later career.

A. T. Robertson: A Biography (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, pp. xvi, 250, \$2.50), by Everett Gill, is a sympathetic treatment, by a former student and associate, of the career of Archibald T. Robertson (1863-1934), who was for a long period a professor at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, and an outstanding leader in church affairs.

The Indiana Historical Bureau has published as Volumes XXIV, XXV, and XXVI of the *Indiana Historical Collections* (Indianapolis, 1942-1943), *The John Tipton Papers*, compiled by Glen A. Blackburn and edited by Nellie Armstrong Robertson and Dorothy Riker. Tipton was a native of East Tennessee who moved to Indiana in 1807 and until his death in 1839 played an impor-

tant part in military, political, and economic activities in his adopted state. The editing and annotations merit high praise, and a scholarly introduction, by Paul W. Gates of Cornell University, shows Tipton's place in the transition from Indian ownership of land in northern Indiana to the entry of land and the accumulation of large holdings by traders, government officials, and other enterprising settlers. Each volume contains a carefully prepared analytical index.

Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 132, Washington, 1942, pp. 332), by John R. Swanton, demonstrates the fruitfulness of the historical approach to ethnological research by using it in a study of a group of American aborigines which played an important part in the early history of the present areas of eastern Texas, northwestern Louisiana, and southwestern Arkansas. The volume quotes from or summarizes contemporary French, Spanish, and American sources and traces the tribal movements and cultural developments of the Caddo from their first mention in the narratives of the De Soto expedition to recent reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The two principal sections of the monograph deal with tribal history (pp. 29-121) and early ethnology (pp. 121-234); but it also contains an introductory essay on tribal designations and distributions, a complete tabulation of numerous population estimates from 1699 to 1937, and a section of interpretative conclusions in which Caddoan culture is related to those of the Southeast and the Plains. Numerous plates and maps and a bibliography of some ninety titles enhance its value for both the historian and the ethnologist.

A History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607-1860 (United States Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural History Series*, No. 5, Washington, 1942, pp. 182), by James Westfall Thompson, is a publication in multi-graph form of part of a manuscript prepared by the well-known medievalist during 1917-1918 and later submitted to the Department of Agriculture. It presents a rapid survey of stock raising in this country down to the eve of the Civil War. Although it does not pretend to be definitive, students of southern history will find it useful and sometimes provocative. Chapter IV is on "Stock Raising in the Southern Colonies," and other chapters deal with the industry in the South as part of the general survey for the country as a whole, first for the period from 1775 to 1830 (Chapter V), and second for the period from 1830 to 1860 (Chapter IX). The 36 page bibliography contains a list of the references cited by Professor Thompson, and a supplementary list, entitled, "Selected References on the History of Livestock Raising in the United States to 1860, Published since the Thompson Manuscript Was Completed."

Tall Tales of Arkansaw (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, Inc., 1943, pp. xi, 443, \$4.00), by James R. Masterson, falls within the marginal zone between

history and literary criticism. It is a critical study of the evolution of the boisterous folk legends that for a long time circulated chiefly among the initiators and developed to artistic maturity in those regions where real frontier conditions lingered longest. As the author says in his preface: "If they have offered any authentic information about the tangible state of Arkansas, their error was unfortunate; for historical truth must be scrupulously avoided by the chronicler of a country in the sky."

Roy Bean; Law West of the Pecos (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, pp. ix, 207, \$2.50), by C. L. Sonnichsen, presents a more complete record than anything previously published on one of the most colorful characters of the West Texas frontier in the closing decades of the last century. Its principal contributions are to be found in the new information on Judge Bean's activities before going to West Texas and in its critical discrimination in distinguishing between legend and fact. Good use has been made of newspaper files and published works, but unfortunately almost no manuscript records seem to have been available.

Planning for the South: An Inquiry into the Economics of Regionalism (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1943, pp. x, 255, \$2.75), by John V. Van Sickle, is the fourth in a series of monographs published under the sponsorship of the Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences, Vanderbilt University. The author, an economist, concurs in the thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner that the United States is, in its cultural diversity, a union of regions, and proposes an economic program for the South as one of those regions. He examines the natural resources and the population pattern of the South, surveys the varied solutions which have previously been offered for the grave economic problems of the region, and presents a plan which calls for the functioning of regionalism within a democracy based upon true liberalism. Under his plan regional differences would be recognized, federal obstructions to the free play of the liberal economy would be minimized or removed, and positive aid would be tendered the South through a system of differential federal grants. The historian will be especially interested in Dr. Van Sickle's analysis of the peculiar cultural pattern of the South and in his comments on the relationship of that section to the nation as a whole.

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

"The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland," by Walter C. Hartridge, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (June).

"The Reverend John Bowie, Tory," by Lucy Leigh Bowie, *ibid.*

"Notes on the Primitive History of Western Maryland," by William B. Marye, *ibid.*

- "Reading and Other Recreations of Marylanders, 1700-1776," continued, by Joseph T. Wheeler, *ibid.*
- "The Development of Negro Education in the District of Columbia, 1800-1860," by Emmett D. Preston, Jr., in the *Journal of Negro Education* (Spring).
- "Virginia's 'Dartmouth College Case'," by James Morrison Hutcheson, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (April).
- "Footnotes on Some XVII Century Virginians," continued, by Francis Burton Harrison, *ibid.*
- "Colonel Charles Dabney of the Revolution: His Service as Soldier and Citizen," by Charles William Dabney, *ibid.*
- "Jefferson's Notes on Virginia and the Census of 1940," by J. C. Rocca, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (April).
- "William Wirt and the Familiar Essay in Virginia," by Jay B. Hubbell, *ibid.*
- "Applications of Virginians for Office During the Presidency of George Washington, 1789-1797," by John W. Herndon, *ibid.*
- "Notes on an Engagement at Green Springs, near Trevillian Station, Virginia, June, 1864," by F. E. Vandiver, *ibid.*
- "The Fish and Fisheries of Colonial Virginia," continued, by John C. Pearson, *ibid.*
- "Virginia Ethnology from an Early Relation," by Maurice A. Mook, *ibid.*
- "Lynchburg on the James," by Catharine Dunscombe Horsley, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (April).
- "Leonidas Lafayette Polk and the North Carolina Department of Agriculture," by Stuart Noblin, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (April).
- "C. P. J. Mooney of the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, Crusader for Diversification," by James W. Silver, in *Agricultural History* (April).
- "The East Tennessee Republicans in State and Nation, 1870-1900," by Verton M. Queener, in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (June).
- "Higher Education in the Tennessee-Kentucky Region a Century Ago," by Henry Lee Swint, *ibid.*
- "The Pan-Electric Telephone Controversy," by Frank B. Williams, *ibid.*
- "Joshua Fry Speed, 1814-1882: Abraham Lincoln's Most Intimate Friend," by Robert L. Kincaid, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (April).
- "Barney, Forgotten Hero," by George K. Holbert, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (April).
- "The Underground Railroad and the Missouri Borders, 1840-1860," by Benjamin G. Merkel, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (April).
- "The Camp Meeting in Missouri," by Marie G. Windell, *ibid.*
- "Cattle Drives in Missouri," by Virginia S. Hutcheson, *ibid.*

- "The Great Seal of the Cherokee Nation," by J. Bartley Milam, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (March).
- "James Carson Jamison, 1830-1916," by Robert L. Williams, *ibid.*
- "County and National Elections in Pontotoc County, Chickasaw Nation," by Gordon M. Harrell, *ibid.*
- "Indian Territory Ghost Towns," by A. C. Townsend, *ibid.*
- "Recollections of April 22, 1889," by Frank J. Best, *ibid.*
- "Recollections of April 19, 1892," by Ralph H. Records, *ibid.*
- "Dissolution of the Osage Reservation," continued, by Berlin B. Chapman, *ibid.*
- "Early History of Armstrong Academy," by James W. Moffitt, *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "The Calvert-Stier Correspondence: Letters from America to the Low Countries, 1797-1828," edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr., in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (June).
- "Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister," continued, *ibid.*
- "Unpublished Correspondence of Jefferson and Adams to Mazzei," by Howard R. Marraro, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (April).
- "Henry Lee on the Southern Campaign," edited by George F. Scheer, Jr., *ibid.*
- "Auditor Stegge's Accounts," edited by Maude H. Woodfin, *ibid.*
- "The Estate of J. P. Custis in Account with John Hooe, Cr., 1790," contributed by Henry Thompson Louthan, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (April).
- "Copies of Extant Wills from Counties whose Records Have Been Destroyed," by George Harrison Sanford King, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (April).
- "Reconstruction Letters from North Carolina, Part X, Letters to Benjamin Franklin Butler," continued, edited by James A. Padgett, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (April).
- "North Carolina Bibliography, 1941-1942," compiled by Mary Lindsay Thornton, *ibid.*
- "Tennessee Volunteers in the Seminole Campaign of 1836: The Diary of Henry Hollingsworth," continued, edited by Stanley F. Horn, in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (June).
- "Original Land Patents in Georgetown Area, Scott County, Kentucky," compiled by James Wade Emison, Jr., and W. T. Smith, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (April).
- "Kentucky Marriages and Obituaries," continued, edited by G. Glenn Clift, *ibid.*
- "Memoir of Lexington and its Vicinity," by William Leavy, continued, edited by Nina Visscher, *ibid.*

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "Some Nineteenth Century South Carolina Imprints, 1801-1820," by Douglas C. McMurtrie, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (April).
- "Rae's Hall Plantation," continued, by Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers' Project, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (March).
- "Brampton Plantation," by Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers' Project, *ibid.*
- "The Hermitage Plantation," by Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers' Project, *ibid.*
- "The Plantation of the Royal Vale," by Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers' Project, *ibid.*
- "Botanical Explorers of the Southeastern United States," by H. Harold Hume, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April).
- "Richard Keith Call, Florida Territorial Leader," by Sidney Walter Martin, *ibid.*
- "The Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico," by Albert Manucy, *ibid.*
- "Early Ante-Bellum Marion, Alabama: A Black Belt Town," by Weymouth T. Jordan, in the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Spring).
- "Chief Justice Samuel Farrow Rice," by Lucien D. Gardner, *ibid.*
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- "Spruce McCall Osborne: A Mississippi Territorial Volunteer at Fort Mims," by Peter A. Brannon, *ibid.*
- "L. Q. C. Lamar, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court," by Willie D. Halsell, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (April).
- "The Division of Mississippi Territory," by Richard A. McLemore, *ibid.*
- "Sunken Logs and Logging Brands of the Lower Pearl River Valley," by J. Roland Weston, *ibid.*
- "Indians in Clark County [Arkansas]," by V. L. Huddleston, in the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* (June).
- "The Arkansas Council of Defense in the First World War," by Austin L. Venable, *ibid.*
- "The Agricultural Wheel in Arkansas," by Theodore Saloutos, *ibid.*
- "Possibilities for the Archaeologist and Historian in Eastern Arkansas," by Dr. and Mrs. T. L. Hodges, *ibid.*
- "Native Latin American Contribution to the Colonization and Independence of Texas," by Eugene C. Barker, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (April).

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "Post-Bellum Southern Rental Contracts," contributed by Rosser H. Taylor, in *Agricultural History* (April).
- "Memoirs of Frederick Augustus Porcher," edited by Samuel Gaillard Stoney, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (April).
- "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette of Charleston, S. C.," continued, contributed by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Journal of General Peter Horry," continued, *ibid.*
- "Abstracts from Records of the Court of Ordinary, 1764-1771," continued, contributed by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Yellow Fever on the Blockade of Indian River; a Tragedy of 1864 [letters of John F. Van Nest]," in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April).
- "Other Days [memoirs and correspondence]," by Eliza Kendrick Walker, in the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Spring).
- "The Autobiography of James H. Maury," edited by P. L. Rainwater, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (April).
- "Personal Letters of a New Orleans Mercantile Clerk, 1844-1845," edited by Lewis E. Atherton, in the *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* (June).
- "Letters of an Arkansas Confederate Soldier," continued, in the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* (June).
- "Check List of Texas Imprints, 1846-1876," edited by E. W. Winkler, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (April).

GENERAL AND REGIONAL ARTICLES, DOCUMENTS, AND COMPILATIONS

- "The New Deal and the South," by H. C. Nixon, in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Summer).
- "Southern Refugee Life during the Civil War," continued, by Mary Elizabeth Massey, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (April).
- "Agricultural Frontiers in the United States" [A Symposium]: (1) "Moving back from the Atlantic Seaboard," by Rodney C. Loehr; (2) "Advancing across the Eastern Mississippi Valley," by Russell H. Anderson; (3) "Going beyond the Ninety-Fifth Meridian," by Everett Dick; in *Agricultural History* (April).
- "The Negro Folksong in the American Culture," by Ruth H. Gillum, in the *Journal of Negro Education* (Spring).
- "The Negro as a Subject of University Research in 1942," by Ellis O. Knox, *ibid.*
- "Abraham Lincoln, Demigod," continued, by James Douglas Anderson, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (April).

- "Some Post War Letters from Jefferson Davis to His Former Aide-de-Camp, William Preston Johnston," edited by Arthur Marvin Shaw, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (April).
- "Into the Breach: Civil War Letters of Wallace W. Chadwick," edited by Mabel Watkins Mayer, in the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (April).
- "With the First Wisconsin Cavalry, 1862-1865: The Letters of Peter J. Williamson," edited by Henry Lee Swint, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (March-June).
- "The Civil War Diary of Samuel Tiebout, Fifth New York Volunteer Infantry," edited by Bruce T. McCully, in *New York History* (April).
- "The National Park Service Program of Conservation for Areas and Structures of National Historical Significance," by Alvin P. Stauffer and Charles W. Porter, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (June).

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